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The Week

WHILE the Germans have described the serious attacks by the Allies during the past week as local engagements, this is not an adequate characterization of what has actually taken place. There have been reconnaissances in force, meant to feel out the enemy's condition and to keep him well occupied. This they have done with considerable gain of prisoners. Indeed, the blows have been so heavy as to convince most of the experts that they are part of a prearranged plan, and it is even suggested that it is a new policy of steady nibbling at the German line that is under way. This may be so, but it will not prevent the Germans from striking a heavy blow as soon as they are ready. Why they delay is the military puzzle of the hour. It is so obvious that they have everything to lose by not striking promptly that all sorts of theories are being invented to explain their inaction. But the day will come when they will strike, for they must strike or confess defeat at home, and it is inconceivable that the militarists will do that until they are compelled to. Meanwhile, the Italians have improved their position and have at points taken ground beyond the Piave which they have not held since last fall. All in all, the situation appears more and more favorable for the Allies. It is not well, however, to be overconfident; we are probably in the lull before a terrible storm. It helps much, however, to bear the suspense when we read of the fine fighting edge of the French and the American troops in their several attacks.

RECENT events in Russia, while as yet imperfectly known in detail, are disquieting. The presence of a considerable body of Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia, and their successful progress along the line of the Trans-Siberian Railway as far as Vladivostok, has raised the hopes of the interventionists, and led to the suggestion that the Czecho-Slovaks be used as the nucleus of an international army. Another Czecho-Slovak force is reported to have defeated the Bolsheviki at Irkutsk. As the original programme of the Czecho-Slovaks, who are seeking to return to Europe via America, in order to join the Allies, was to avoid conflict with the Bolsheviki or any interference in Russian internal affairs, their exact status at the moment is not clear. More disturbing, and used again as an argument for intervention, is the report of the combined German and Finnish advance in the direction of the Murmansk Railway, connecting Petrograd with an ice-free port on the Gulf of Kola. If the railway and the port are occupied, the Allies will be cut off from their only access to Russia by sea on the west, save by way of Archangel, and great quantities of supplies may be expected to fall into the enemy's hands. On the heels of all the other complications comes the assassination of the German Ambassador at Moscow. With such provocation for a renewal of the German invasion, the Russian outlook must be regarded as grave. President Wilson, it is gratifying to note, still shows no sign of yielding in his opposition to the use of force, and the report

that he will probably be guided by the advice of the War Council at Versailles must be taken with a good deal of allowance. There can be no doubt, however, that the situation would be much improved if the United States and the Allies were to extend at least informal recognition to the Russian Government.

THE apparent victory of the Conservative parties in the last Dutch elections does not mean that Holland will give up her policy of strict neutrality. At the same time it indicates the nation-wide disapproval of the Allied policies in regard to the small neutral nations of Europe. The new electoral law was expected to give a vast majority to the Liberals and the Socialists. Under the circumstances, however, many people transferred their vote to the Conservative ticket. They did not love the bullying eastern neighbor. But they wished to protest against that Allied policy which, consciously or unconsciously, is helping Germany's subtle propaganda in the Netherlands. There are signs that the German naval party is about to renew its attack upon the Dutch ports, and Holland is making ready to withstand the shock. Under the circumstances, friction with the Allies is not only unnecessary, but also highly undesirable from every point of view. A traditional sentiment of common ideals binds America to Holland. We can afford to be generous, for we have many historic reasons to be grateful. Holland stood by us in the dark days of our Revolution and our Civil War. If she now has a grievance, let us listen to it.

AMERICAN complacency in the world crisis has recently been receiving sharp criticism from far-seeing and far distant friends. Mr. Robert Dell, of the *Manchester Guardian*, has warned us that we need not be more exacting than the French people, who, having had more than 1,700,000 men killed, do not demand years of fighting in preference to a negotiated peace. Mr. Yone Noguchi, writing as a friend and an ally, in the *July Bookman*, explains to us "innocent optimists" that we do not understand the real meaning of life. And now one of our own people, Mrs. Margaret Deland, in her "War-time Reflections in Paris," in the July number of *Harper's*, goes even farther. She declares with emphasis that Americans and French are worlds apart in their thinking on the war, on the peace to follow, and on the things that are to come after the peace. The American point of view, says Mrs. Deland, is summed up by the cheerful young officer who knows that "We're a free people. We'll lick . . . the Germans . . . and then, so far as the Allies go, everything will be lovely and the goose hang high!" Is it strange, she asks, that to the French we seem "like well-meaning, conceited children," that they fear our fundamental lack of seriousness? "We are provincial in the death struggle!" says one American bitterly, for Mrs. Deland quotes not only the French, but others in Paris as looking beyond this present struggle to the conflict between chaos and civilization; who foresee not only political revolution, but a revolution of moral and ethical standards; who hope for and yet fear the new social

order that is to replace "our imitation democracy" and our "rotten civilization." The French, it appears, because they are intelligent and look facts in the face, are half afraid of what is to follow the peace. The Americans, because they are unconquerably—or fatuously—optimistic, can see the world to come only *couleur de rose*. Time alone will show which is the wisdom of fools and which the folly of the wise.

SUCH a celebration of the Fourth of July as took place this year has no parallel in our history. The demonstrations of loyalty at home and friendship abroad gave every evidence of genuineness and spontaneity, and there is no reason why they should not be accepted as such. The reasons are not far to seek, and they are not, happily, all of a material sort. It is true that the military and naval help which the United States is giving, in imposing volume, to the Allied cause, the vast mobilization of America's financial and industrial resources, and the feeding and clothing of millions of people in the warring countries, constitute of themselves a claim to gratitude of a large kind. But the spiritual contribution has been at least as great. To have the American democracy, long supposed to be given up to gain, enlisted on the side of the democracies of Europe in the battle against autocracy and militarism, is every way as inspiring as the mighty stream of soldiers, guns, and food. One must not lose sight, either, of President Wilson as a factor in this great outburst of international regard for America which has just been witnessed. More than any other man, Mr. Wilson has voiced the aims and beliefs of all who anywhere desire freedom, and his well-chosen words have won heartfelt regard wherever they have been read or heard. It is a chastening responsibility which this good will of nearly all the world imposes upon us.

PRECISELY why American troops should have been landed at Panama and Colon is not clear. The ostensible reason was the postponement for six months of elections fixed for June 30 and July 7, in the interest, it was alleged, of candidates favored by President Urriola, and the fear of trouble in consequence. The right of the United States to act as a policeman whenever necessary to maintain order is guaranteed by the treaty of 1904. No disorder has occurred, however, and none, so far as the public has been advised, appears to have been actually threatened. The President of Panama cabled to President Wilson an earnest protest against the proceeding. It was subsequently announced that the elections would be held on July 7, but under the protection of American troops. In Mexico the old question of the taxation of oil properties held by foreigners has again come forward. President Carranza, acting under the provisions of the new Mexican Constitution, has apparently been disposed to press the right of Government control to the point of destroying, virtually if not legally, the title of foreign holders. Against such interference with property rights the American Government has taken a firm stand, but the controversy is still unsettled. It is to be regretted that the two incidents should have developed right upon the heels of Mr. Wilson's cordial speech to the Mexican editors; for while, as has been said, the full reason for American intervention in Panama is not clear, the intervention itself, joined to a sharp reminder to Mexico, indicates an unstable political situation in both countries which does not help to good understanding and the maintenance of cordial relations.

MR. EARL B. BARNES, the United States District Attorney in charge of the prosecution of the *Masses* editors, has been making some remarkable statements to a *Sun* reporter. Thus, he is quoted as saying that he does not see why he should accede to a postponement in the case because Mr. Morris Hillquit and others interested in the case desire to attend the Socialist convention at St. Louis in August, at which will be discussed the question of the revision of the anti-war platform adopted in 1917. According to the *Sun*, Mr. Barnes declared that he could not "see the necessity, because any delegate who discusses the report favorably will place his life in jeopardy" under the new Espionage law. Should this be true, then are our liberties indeed gone. If Americans can no longer meet in convention to discuss policies of the Government and vote adversely on them if they so believe, as they did during the Mexican, Civil, and Spanish Wars, then we are well on the road to Prussianism. Mr. Barnes should take note that the Supreme Court of Minnesota has quashed, as contrary to no State law, the ridiculous indictments of the officers of the Non-Partisan League for discussing the war unfavorably in certain documents. It is quite possible, of course, that the Espionage law will be stretched to cover their cases; if it should be, it would be another sign that our constitutional guarantee of free speech and free press has for the present gone by the board. Incidentally, Mr. Barnes is very much upset because one of the defendants in the *Masses* case, Mr. Floyd Dell, will have to be tried in the uniform of a drafted man on the charge of conspiring to hamper the draft! This, says Mr. Barnes, may "take some of the punch out of the Government's charges." We should think it would. Mr. Barnes, moreover, declares that in order to prevent this happening he tried to induce the chairman of the local board not to call Mr. Dell. Naturally, the chairman refused to be swerved from his duty. But in making the effort was Mr. Barnes not doing the very same thing which he charges against the *Masses* editors, namely, interfering with the draft law? It would be an interesting question for the grand jury.

WE have already expressed the opinion that the creation of a board of ten Senators and ten Representatives, as proposed by Congressman Edmonds, to deal with questions of reconstruction, is hardly the best way of handling so difficult and complicated a subject. Reconstruction is not exclusively, nor even mainly, a political matter, and the body which deals with it ought to be so constituted as to embrace a wide range of opinion as well as ability. The announcement that the Council of National Defence is now to undertake a comprehensive study of reconstruction problems raises more hopeful expectations. The list of important topics to which the Council, through the organization which it is to create, proposes to give attention includes demobilization and the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers and sailors, together with such large subjects as finance, education, Americanization, and industrial organization. That such a study is necessary, and that it cannot begin too soon, goes without saying. Everything depends, of course, upon the personnel of the body to which the task is entrusted, and the spirit in which the work is planned and carried through. The statement of the Council, as given to the press, emphasizes the fact that, for the United States, reorganization is a better term than reconstruction. The particular term employed is not important, so long as the need

of preparation to meet radically changed industrial and social conditions is clearly recognized. We hope that the Council will adopt from the outset a policy of frank publicity, in addition to inviting suggestions from every quarter.

THE latest developments of the Western Union controversy reflect little credit upon either of the parties. On the understanding that the President desired statutory authority for taking over telegraph and telephone lines for the period of the war, if necessary as a means of dealing with strikes or insuring proper operation, the House passed a resolution giving such authority. The Senate, desiring to discuss the terms of the arrangement, declined to act until after the month's recess which both houses desired. Thereupon the President blocked the proposed adjournment by insisting upon the immediate passage of the required legislation. In the meantime, the Secretary of Labor appealed to the head of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, who had ordered a strike on the Western Union lines for July 8, to rescind the order; and this Mr. Koenekamp graciously consented to do. The only party to the quarrel who could view the imbroglio with satisfaction is, apparently, Mr. Carlton, the president of the Western Union, whose persistent refusal to allow the employees of the company to join the Commercial Telegraphers' Union was the immediate occasion of the threatened strike, and who refused to yield even to the persuasion of President Wilson. Congress, which is still debating, will give Mr. Wilson the authority which he needs, of course, and the strike will probably be indefinitely postponed. So long, however, as a labor organization stands ready to paralyze the business of the country if its demands are not granted, and Congress is willing actually to plan a recess with the calamity impending, the outlook for permanent industrial peace through Government intervention is not bright.

THE announcement that Miss Jeannette Rankin will contest the election for United States Senator from Montana with Senator Walsh presages an interesting fight, with the bare chance that to her lot may fall the honor of being the first woman to enter the Senate as well as the first to grace the House of Representatives. To say that Miss Rankin has made a deep impression upon the House is naturally impossible. No member of Congress does in his first term, and her first term has been in the most trying and difficult session in the history of our parliament. But no fair person will, we believe, deny that she is an earnest, modest, hard-working member of real personality, who has won the respect of her associates by her sincerity and courage. In Montana the question still is whether the corporations or the people shall rule, and Miss Rankin is on the side of the people. So her adversaries have circulated every kind of abuse and misrepresentation about her. She has been falsely portrayed as an I. W. W. sympathizer; her vote against the country's going to war has been laid up against her; her speeches have been misquoted; and her ardent democracy has been tortured into unrecognizable radicalism. Every form of opposition by the great corporations will be employed against her—they have already denied her halls and the opportunity to speak—and there will be no word from the President to aid her as Mr. Ford has been helped. The only question is whether the people still have eyes to see and ears to hear.

THE laconic "Memorandum on Palestinian Policy," unanimously adopted by the American Zionists at their recent convention in Pittsburgh, is of notable courage and vision. It is a document of less than four hundred words, laying down the principles on which the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine is to be established. Of these, one secures the civil and political equality of all the inhabitants of that land, "irrespective of race, sex, or faith"; two deal with the establishment of a system of "free public instruction" from kindergarten to university, and four with the economic foundations of Palestinian society. These declare for "the ownership and control, by the whole people of the land, of all natural resources and of all public utilities"; for substitution of leasehold for private ownership in the development of the land by private initiative and enterprise; for the democratic organization of enterprise in coöperative groups; for the creation of a fiscal policy that shall render impossible exploitation and financial oppression. The memorandum, declares the preamble, simply reaffirms "principles which have guided the Zionist movement since its inception, and which were the foundation of the ancient Jewish state and of the living Jewish law embodied in the traditions of two thousand years of exile." The memorandum will take its place beside the two other great democratic bills of rights of the year—that of the British Labor party and that of the Inter-Allied Conference for Labor and Socialism. It differs from both in content, in that it makes no protests and challenges no vested interests. It is a programme of construction purely—the first only, let us hope, of a great and world-wide programme, in which creation will finally displace the protest that has been so much of the content of democracy from its beginnings.

IN the extraordinary process of what we may term athletic internationalization among the Entente armies in Europe, we note interesting phenomena. Sailors of the British Grand Fleet are playing baseball with an ardor not adequately matched by proficiency; thousands gather on London fields to witness games among American service nines, while the soldiers of the French army have developed an overweening enthusiasm for the great British sport of soccer football, besides playing baseball, basketball, and other American games. Hundreds of regimental teams are now indulging in soccer, and the number increases week by week. Thus, we have Frenchmen adopting a great English game; British, French, and Italians going in for various American sports; and Americans? Here we stop. There is nothing to indicate that in our lavish gifts in the way of distinctive athletic pursuits we have held out our hands to take. Cricket has made little appeal to our men, and their indulgence in soccer is said to be rather perfunctory, as indeed we might fancy would be the case. Americans have for years been familiar with both games and have found them lacking in those qualities which seem essential to our enjoyment. Recognizing the influence of common sports as a means of establishing international community of interest, British authorities have been interested in the formulation of some reciprocal scheme whereby the British might substitute American baseball for cricket, while we abandoned our gridiron game in favor of English football. Whether or not this project ever got beyond theory cannot be said. Nothing has come to us to indicate a tendency on the part of our men either to abandon the American game of football or to develop enthusiasm over the English game.

Extraordinary Achievements

AMERICANS may well take pride in the extraordinary record made by the shipyards of the United States on the Fourth of July. On that day no less than ninety-five merchant ships, wood and steel, comprising 474,464 tons, were sent down the ways—an industrial achievement without parallel. More than that, three ships were launched on July 3, fourteen could not be put overboard because of river conditions in the Portland, Oregon, district, and for the navy there were set afloat seventeen war vessels, fourteen of them destroyers. Surely, if anything could convince sane Germans of the utter folly of their drawing the United States into the war, this ought to do it. We are aware, of course, that von Capelle has again stated to the Reichstag that the submarine campaign will achieve its end; that the new building does not begin to catch up with the losses. But even assuming the truth of this, the Fourth of July was the handwriting on the wall for the German Admiralty, and it cannot be long before the few Germans left in positions of influence who have not been blinded or muzzled, or are not being led by the nose by the militarists, will see that the submarine jig is up.

For this tremendous twenty-four-hour achievement of our American shipyards is only a beginning. The Submarine Boat Corporation, for instance, which launched three ships, expects later on to turn out three a week, and as for the Hog Island shipyard, with its fifty ways, it plans to build at the rate of a ship a day. Enormous difficulties have been overcome, the labor problem has been grappled with and met, and shipyards that did not exist six months or a year ago are turning out vessels to-day as if they had been at it for many years. When they reach their stride, the output is going to be tremendous. The only question will be how far and how rapidly we wish to go in the process of fabricating ships, precisely as we fabricate in large quantity Ford automobiles, safety razors, and other mechanical devices. We have the skill, we have the men, we have the money, too. Indeed, nothing is more encouraging than the attitude of the workmen themselves. At the shipyards they are vying with one another with all the zest with which they have followed baseball scores in the past. Into this titanic contest they are throwing themselves with American cheerfulness, optimism, and determination to win. How is it possible that the Germans, who prided themselves on their brains and intelligence, could not realize what it would mean to unleash these American forces?

Meanwhile, the progress of our armies overseas continues amazing. No one forecast it, no one believed it possible. Yet with all the menace of the U-boat and the tremendous dearth of tonnage, we have sent men abroad at the rate of 117,212 in April, 244,345 in May, and 276,372 in June—a total of 637,929 men in only three months. In order to accomplish this, ships have been brought from the four quarters of the globe. Into New York and other American harbors have come vessels which have never before crossed the Atlantic; types no one has suggested for this sort of service appear and disappear. Some of the fastest and largest ships are making the round trip from the United States to France and back in sixteen days, staying two days in harbor on the other side and sometimes only five on this. The question of food seems to have been solved by leaving to the British and French the direct supplying of

these enormous forces. No less than 251,000 trained troops are now actually on the firing line under the American flag, and this within fifteen months after the declaration of war. It is a record that ought to end criticism of the War Department and of the President; they are actually in numbers of troops abroad 400,000 ahead of the best that they could plan a year ago. It is idle to ask whether this pace can be kept up; probably it cannot, for many of the ships diverted here must go back to other duties when harvest time comes, but meanwhile the achievement is tremendous. It is enormously encouraging to the French and the British, and gives the best hope of preventing the taking of Paris. The crisis on the western front is still grave and must remain so until we know what the outcome of the next German offensive is going to be, but meanwhile every American can rejoice that each day of delay in starting the offensive increases the promise of safety for Paris and the prospect of defeat for the Germans.

The Liberty Loans, the Red Cross drives, and the War Saving Stamps campaigns have all gone beyond expectation. The shipbuilding programme is progressing marvelously, the aeroplane production is beginning to bulk large, the second million men are on their way to France. This is the answer to Berlin that is speaking more loudly every day, every week, every month, the answer which will inevitably convince the German people that of all the horrible blunders and crimes of which their rulers have been guilty, none was more flagrant from their benighted point of view than the dragging of the United States into the war.

The President at Mount Vernon

PRESIDENT WILSON'S Fourth of July address at Mount Vernon is well written; some of its passages, indeed, are on a level with the best that he has ever penned. The sentence into which he condenses the four great objects of the war—"What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind"—is an impressive statement of a world ideal, and will, we feel sure, be often quoted. The firm determination to go on with the war until the principles for which it is being fought are realized will be applauded, and rightly so. Yet the speech, notwithstanding its high sentiments and fine rhetorical sweep, is disappointing. One expects, indeed, on days of national commemoration, some laudation of achievement, some attempt to merge the aspirations of a nation in the broader aspirations of mankind. That task Mr. Wilson performed consummately, but the opportunity for saying some other things that the world was waiting for was passed over.

There are two questions on which it was to be hoped Mr. Wilson would declare himself. One is Russia. For more than half a year the United States has held aloof, declining to recognize any Russian Government while at the same time doing nothing, so far as the public knows, to help a return to order and prosperity. Lately, however, it was announced that the Administration, after long musing, had at last evolved a plan for reopening Russian trade and getting much-needed food and other necessities into the country. It was hoped that Mr. Wilson would disclose his plan, at least in its main features, in his Fourth of July speech. He did not do so. His only reference to Russia is a passage in which he includes the "unorganized and helpless" Rus-

sian people among those who are arrayed against the autocratic militarists of the Central Powers. We earnestly hope that they are to be so included. What the world wants to know, however, is whether or not Mr. Wilson has been able to devise a plan by which sympathy for Russia can be made effective. On that question the Mount Vernon address sheds no light whatever.

The other question is peace. Here, it seems to us, Mr. Wilson speaks with a curious uncertainty, but at the same time with an ominous suggestiveness. "The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise." If this means that no righteous principle for which the United States has contended is to be modified or waived, the President has tilted his lance against a man of straw. "The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence." We are not clear as to the distinction which is to be drawn between "destruction" and a "reduction to virtual impotence." They seem to us to amount in practice to pretty much the same thing. Whatever the distinction, however, the implication is grave. There will be no negotiations. Peace will come only when Germany and her allies have been beaten into helplessness, or when they have confessed defeat and abjectly surrendered. It is war to the bitter end, no matter what Germany may say or do.

Sentiments like these are the more disappointing because the occasion on which they were uttered was so uniquely great. Never have there been such wide-flung manifestations of goodwill towards America, of gratitude for its help and confidence in its motives, as were shown this year on the Fourth of July. The extraordinary tributes to the United States which were paid by England and France were more than spontaneous expressions of esteem. They were the gratifying evidence of a genuine international friendship. The scene at Mount Vernon, too, was unprecedented. About the President were gathered not only members of the diplomatic corps, but also representatives of more than thirty nationalities which contribute to the making of one American people. The occasion was preëminently one for clear, constructive pronouncement, not for rhetorical camouflage; for magnanimity, not for war to destruction's end. That the hour was not utilized for such a high purpose is a serious disappointment.

That the note of alternative destruction or virtual impotence was the one that carried farthest is evident from the comments of European newspapers and public men on Mr. Wilson's speech. Whatever else these foreign observers professed to find in it, all hailed it as pledging a fight to the finish. Mr. Lloyd George, addressing the next day a body of American troops on the British front, declared that "if the Kaiser and his advisers will accept the conditions voiced by the President, they can have peace with America, peace with France, peace with Great Britain, tomorrow." It ought to be clear even to Mr. Lloyd George that an offer of peace conditioned upon the acceptance of destruction or a reduction to virtual impotence is for Germany only an invitation to fight on. It was Burke who, in 1775, pleading for conciliation with America, told the Commons that England, and not the colonies, ought to take the first step because England was the stronger power. Must we concede that Germany to-day is still the stronger power, by insisting that it must be the first to offer peace?

Mr. Wilson and the Socialists

THE dispatch to England, a few weeks ago, of a Socialist "mission," representing the pro-war minority of the American Socialist party, is the latest step in our international political offensive. The members of the mission, it was announced, were to attend the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference, summoned to meet at London on June 28, and later, if the Allied Governments did not object, expected to visit France, Italy, and Switzerland, and possibly Russia. The most important item of business which was expected to come before the London conference is the question of holding another international conference, perhaps at Berne or Stockholm, to which shall be invited delegates not only from belligerent and neutral countries, but from the Central Powers as well. To the holding of such a conference, if representatives of enemy nations are to be admitted, the American mission is expected to voice, in no uncertain tones, the invincible opposition of the faction which it represents.

Politically, the grounds upon which opposition is to be based are a bit novel. According to the chairman of the mission, "all delegations from autocratic countries," if any are to be received in the projected conference, "must consist exclusively of those who are actively engaged in an effort to bring about an immediate revolutionary overthrow of their Governments." Mr. John Spargo, a member of the mission, is quoted as saying that the German and Austrian Socialists, by supporting their Governments in the war, are no longer entitled to be recognized as Socialists at all. With the regular Socialist party organizations of Germany and Austria, accordingly, the American mission will have nothing to do. From the standpoint of Mr. Spargo and his associates, the only Socialism that counts, except for evil, is that which not only supports the American and Allied cause, but also is "actively engaged" in efforts to destroy, by revolutionary means, the autocratic Governments under which its adherents happen to live. In other words, the cause of the Allies and the cause of a genuine Socialism must be regarded as identical. The only difference, apparently, is in procedure. While the United States and the Allies wage public war by means of armies and navies, the German and Austrian Socialists are to light the back-fires of revolution at home.

The situation suggests some reflections upon the attitude of present-day democratic Governments, especially those of Great Britain and the United States, towards both Socialism and labor. In a striking article in the latest issue of the *Yale Review*, Mr. Arthur Henderson, the most prominent of English labor leaders, points out that, in England, neither Socialism nor organized labor "made any considerable progress towards the conquest of political power until they joined forces," in 1900. The reconstruction programme of the British Labor party is essentially Socialistic. For the workers, declares Mr. Henderson, the war means only one thing. It means the end of private ownership of land, natural resources, and means of production, and of the exploitation of labor by capital. This is not the same thing as saying that the Socialists, as a party, will henceforth dominate English politics. That, on the whole, seems unlikely. What it means is that the essential principles of Socialism, joined to those of organized labor, are henceforth to prevail in the labor movement.

President Wilson has not committed himself to Socialism as an economic or social theory, nor has he sought the aid of the Socialists as a political party. But neither has he gone on record against them. He has, however, followed, or at least sanctioned, two very suggestive lines of policy. On the one hand, he has practically identified the labor policy of the Federal Government with that of the controlling influences in the American Federation of Labor. Those influences, as every one knows, stand for the assertion of the old trade-union claims in all their rigor, and lead straight to the complete surrender of employers, and even of the Government itself, to the demands of the organized workers. The intervention of the Administration in labor disputes has resulted, in nearly if not quite every case, in the granting of union demands at the expense of the employers and the public. On the other hand, Mr. Wilson appears not to have discountenanced attempts to disrupt the Socialist party through attacks upon the loyalty of its leaders, and he has now, at least tacitly, given special recognition to a seceding faction which could not endorse the attitude of the party towards the war. It is matter of common knowledge that the man or woman, whether a Socialist or not, who should to-day venture to express his approval of the St. Louis platform of the Socialist party would probably soon land behind the bars. It also goes without saying that Mr. Spargo and his associates would never have been allowed to leave the country if the Administration had not approved their mission.

From no point of view is the situation satisfactory. Inflicting pains and penalties for support of the St. Louis platform will not destroy the Socialist party or heal the breach between its majority and minority factions. So long as the narrow trade-union views of Mr. Gompers prevail with the American Federation of Labor, surrender to those views will only widen the chasm between labor and capital, although it may conceivably win some labor votes for Administration candidates in the coming Congressional elections. On the other hand, the American Socialist mission to Europe will be hard put to it to make itself useful. A party mission which is repudiated by a majority of the party at home, and which proposes to read out of court every German or Austrian Socialist who is not in open revolt against his Government, might better not have sailed. What is most disappointing about the situation, however, is its provincial aloofness. The British labor movement, as Mr. Henderson points out, is not only Socialistic, but international. It associates itself not only with the labor aspirations of Socialism, but with the advancing march of labor throughout the world. The only thing it fears in an international conference is that it may fail to bring German and Austrian labor to its point of view. Upon this whole conception of the new labor movement the Administration, relying upon Mr. Gompers, appears to turn its back, not because the movement is international, but because it is Socialistic. Stranger things may happen than that, as a result of dividing the Socialist party at home and ignoring it abroad, there may presently emerge in this country an American Labor party, built, like its British namesake, on the triple foundation of trade unionism, Socialism, and internationalism. There will be no peace, we may be sure, in either the labor or the Socialist camp, so long as trade unionism and Socialism go their several ways, or so long as the international character of political and industrial problems is not fully recognized.

Profiteering

THE rhetoric of the Federal Trade Commission's report on profiteering is out of proportion to its facts. Dealing with the coal, petroleum, milling, packing, and canning industries, the Commission expresses the opinion that general trade is in a state of high prosperity; that "many of the industries are making unusual profits, some are showing outrageous ones"; that "certain members of trade have preyed with shameless avarice upon the consumers"; that some of the profiteering "is attributable to inordinate greed and barefaced fraud"; and that the great packers "have preyed upon the people unconscionably." Let us examine the facts adduced in proof.

First, in coal mining, steel making, and flour milling, "the outstanding revelation which accompanies the work of cost finding is the heavy profit made by the low-cost concern under a governmental fixed price for the whole country." This is about as startling as the "revelation" that while $4-4=0$, $4-2=2$. Prices were purposely fixed at a generous point in order to stimulate maximum production. The well-situated, low-cost concerns could not help making big profits if they tried. In the coal industry, we are told, "many high-cost producers have made small margins. The bulk of the production, of course, enjoys the large margin." But why excoriate the producer, so long as no criticism is brought against the price fixed by Federal authority?

Where a fixed margin of profit above cost was established, as in the milling industry, there the Commission discovers instances of cost inflation through padding of depreciation, increase of officers' salaries, recording new construction as repairs, putting fictitious valuations on raw materials, and manipulating inventories. These forms of fraud are old and common. They cannot be too sternly condemned, and it is well to pillory offenders. At the same time, not all apparent cases are real ones. Mr. Henry Bruère, for example, at once points out that the huge bonuses with which the Commission reproaches the officers of the American Metal Company are due to an arrangement of thirty years' standing, whereby the officers, who are largely the owners of the company, get a share of profits in place of salaries. In a good year, of course, they receive large returns—but do they defraud the people or the Government thereby?

A third "outstanding feature" revealed in the work of the Commission is "the trade tendency to increase and maintain prices against the force of competition"—a phenomenon thoroughly examined by the economists twenty years ago. The Commission's leading instance is the five great packers, who "have monopolistic control of the meat industry, and are reaching for like domination in other products. Their manipulations of the market embrace every device that is useful to them, without regard to law." For more reasons than one, we wish that the packers might bring suit for libel against the members of the Commission on the basis of this statement. It is impossible, however, to reconcile the Commission's profits figures in this business. Apparently they mean that four of the Big Five made \$140,000,000 in 1915-1917, against \$57,000,000 in 1912-14, and even the last named is a tidy little figure—particularly in these meatless days. But after waxing eloquent over the iniquitous gains of these five great monopolists, the Commission informs us that "the independent packers, as measured by results compiled for sixty-five of the largest of

them, earned during 1914, 1915, and 1916 a rate of profit as high as or slightly higher than that earned by the big packers in those years." War demand enriched little and big alike. We have no affection for the great packers. From the good old Spanish War days of embalmed beef to the present more urbane times of meat which, though not good, is still "fit for human consumption," they have been shining examples of a censurable commercialism with which we have no sympathy, so that we shall rejoice if the "further governmental regulation" which the Commission promises can be made actually effective in rooting out their evil practices. But nothing is gained by denunciation. What we need is sober presentation of facts and thoughtful seeking for remedies; we shall not shrink from drastic remedies if they are carefully thought out.

To summarize the whole matter, the report contains little that is startling except the headlines. It indicates on the whole surprisingly little dishonesty and fraud, and, by comparison with former wars, no striking exactions. The war came on top of a period of general prosperity and high prices. To an already active demand there was superadded the buying power of a score of Governments at war, with their Gargantuan appetite for food, clothing, munitions, and materials and supplies of all sorts, and with their unlimited borrowing capacity besides. Prices inevitably rose to unprecedented levels, whether they were fixed by Government or not. Low-cost manufacturers and farmers unavoidably profited largely, while classes having relatively fixed incomes suffered severely. But the producer did not create, and could not control, the demand. The Helvetia Milk Condensing Company, for example, specifically says that its profits in the last year were too high, but that it had to put up prices "in self-protection and in an effort to keep orders from piling up on us beyond our capacity to fill." Moreover, in a similar situation in the petroleum industry, "rates of profits varied from losses up to 122 per cent." Profits are the result of efficiency as well as exaction—a fact which the Commission appears to overlook. Its failure to present facts soberly and to analyze them clearly is unworthy its high responsibility and opportunity.

The report is designed to serve Congress in revising the excess profits tax law. We hope that the largest possible proportion of war costs may be met out of taxes instead of loans, and that the largest possible proportion of taxes may come out of war excess profits. Our existing measure is admittedly in need of radical amendment, which should proceed in the direction of taking the greater part of the gains directly traceable to war. But in drafting the measure, Congress should act on the basis of careful economic analysis, recognizing that profits arise from efficiency as well as from monopoly, exaction and fraud. We need no shrill denunciation of profiteers in general or in particular, but instead a careful examination of the sources and effects of their profits. We may possibly, as a permanent policy, and not simply as a war measure, later on establish Government partnership in the profits of some industries, as we have done temporarily in the express business; we may conceivably proceed to take out of the realm of private profit-making certain industries, or even all of them, as the Socialists would have us do. But in the concrete practical situation that we face, we ought to look on excess profits taxes, not as a punitive measure, directed against illegitimate profiteers, but as a vitally important source of revenue for the Government.

By Any Other Names

SKUNKSCUT, Shicksbinny, Tobesofka, Shivwiny, Shocscoree, Sisladoobsis, Succasunna—these are the names the gracious lady in the White House has bestowed upon some of the new merchant ships destined to curb the power of the German submarines and to keep the world's trade alive. What's in a name most of us are agreed upon. Many a man has been made by his, and many a ship has gained in popularity by the fitness of her designation. Indeed, some have been named as if with complete prevision of the immortality they were to attain; the Constitution, for instance. What other title could have been selected that would have graced Old Ironsides better—if as well? The Monitor, too, by the very sternness of her appellation, evidenced the grimness of her task and her warning to those who had hoped to destroy the Union by the device of armored sides.

Then the Kearsarge was ideally named for the task that fate bestowed upon her. The ruggedness of the mountain was reflected in her sturdy sides and the beauty of the New Hampshire scenery in her trim spars, exquisite proportions, and graceful lines. We cannot somehow believe her task would have been accomplished, or accomplished as well, had she been called the Skitticook or the Nupolela or the Totoganic. Whoever christened the Titanic must have been divinely inspired. No other name could as fitly have illumined that sombre tragedy of elemental forces triumphing, by the agency of a single low-lying iceberg, over the highest mechanical efforts of mere man. If the Mayflower was without the virility of nomenclature commensurate with her great mission, and the Half Moon as well, that is surely no reason for investing a beautiful ocean-going fabric with such a designation as Taycheedah or anything as suggestive of patent medicines as Saluda, Sarcovie, Suspecough, Solano, or Tonica, the evil fate chosen for some of our fine ships.

If we quote some of the worst names for illustration, it is due to the selector of them to add that they are not all bad, as witness Onteora, Unalaska, Umatilla, Unadilla, Sunapee, Talladega, Tucson, and Schoharie, which do not, however, in our judgment offset Souneunk or Taghkanick. There are surely better words in the English language, if not in Sioux, Iroquois, or Eskimo! We realize, of course, that the navy has annexed more than three thousand names of States, towns, rivers, and persons. Somehow, we still feel that there were alternatives to Tankhanna—is this for a tanker?—Wahoo, and Wahpeton, to say nothing of Cabeza, Wanzu, and Awensdaw. Mattapan and Maratanza are two others which suggest that there was some discrimination in leaving out Matteawan, in which, according to popular belief, resides the afflicted genius who names our parlor cars and Pullman sleepers.

All of which merely reinforces the point that the names chosen are mostly unworthy of our merchant marine and of the ideals those ships are specially meant to serve. If we are crusading for humanity on the oceans, why not names to correspond in some degree? Faith, Hope, and, we trust, Charity, are still left to us, to say nothing of other qualities and virtues, and surely not all the good old sea names are preempted, like Winsome, Grayling, Aurora, Sea Witch, Water Witch, Pride of the Seas, Wave Crest, Gem of the Ocean, Silver Spray, Red Wing, Corsair, Typhoon, White Cap, and many others which once conquered the seas for American trade and their Yankee shipbuilders.

Jugoslavia: A Commonwealth in the Making

By BOGUMIL VOSNJAK

THE future historian of the world war will be especially interested in the beginnings of the new state life among the nations which lost their independence under the iron heel of Hapsburg autocracy. The downfall of the Hapsburgs is considered by Jugoslavs, Czecho-Slovaks, and Poles as the condition of their emancipation from German ascendancy, and the independence of Jugoslavia, Bohemia, and Poland is for these nations the only issue.

Who are the Jugoslavs, or Southern Slavs? There is from the Adriatic to the Ægean Sea, from the Triglav next the Slav-Italian-German linguistic frontier to Salonica, a territory, in the form of a great triangle, which includes Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, southern Hungary, Dalmatia, Istria, Trst (Trieste), Gorica, Carniola, Carinthia, southern Styria. This territory is populated by the same nation with three names, the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. What is the Yugoslav problem? The unification of these twelve millions in one independent state, Jugoslavia, which will be a bulwark against German aggression and aspiration to be master of the road to Bagdad.

In the last years before the outbreak of the great war, there was a saying that the future of Austria-Hungary depended upon the solution of the Yugoslav question. But Austria-Hungary was unable to solve the problem, that is, to unite the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, within the boundaries of the monarchy. Hungary opposed to the utmost every attempt at incorporation of Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina with Croatia. Moreover, the unification of the Jugoslavs of Austria-Hungary alone would have impaired dangerously the idea of complete national unity, which naturally includes the Jugoslavs of Serbia and Montenegro. The outbreak of the great war simplified the whole situation. From the very beginning every one thoroughly acquainted with the facts was convinced that any partial solution of the Yugoslav problem, within Austria-Hungary alone, is impossible, and that the world war must definitely settle this crucial problem. The settlement can be only the unity and independence of the whole Yugoslav nation.

There are three vital problems which must determine the fate of Austria-Hungary: the Yugoslav, the Czech, and the Polish questions. But among these the Yugoslav problem was a question of death and life for Austria-Hungary. Neither Czechs nor Poles had national states on the boundaries of that empire. Serbia, on the other hand, by the very fact of her existence and geographical situation, was a dangerous foe. The evolution of the recent revolutionary movement in the southern provinces teaches us that Serbia was not guilty of spreading high treason in Yugoslav lands, but that there is a national movement which has its reason in itself and in Austrian methods of government. By crushing Serbia, Austria-Hungary thought to crush the Yugoslav movement.

The Hapsburgs did not succeed in this attempt, but their attitude immensely strengthened the Yugoslav movement both inside and outside the monarchy. The Jugoslavs appeared as the strongest, most decisive, and stoutest antagonists of Hapsburg injustice. Nowhere did Austrian militarism carry out greater crimes than in Yugoslav countries; nowhere was repression, with destruction of life and prop-

erty, more brutal than in the Yugoslav countries. It was only natural that the Yugoslav exiles in Western Europe were first among the Slavs of Austria-Hungary to create a revolutionary body, the Yugoslav Committee of London.

When in May, 1915, the Yugoslav Committee drew up its programme, the starting point for future work was clear and settled. An evolution of centuries prepared the way. That racial and linguistic unity must develop into state unity is a truism for political reformers. But owing to the dualism of the Yugoslav nation, which as Serbian was in the orbit of Constantinople and of the Eastern civilization, and as Croatian was exposed to the influence of the Church of Rome, two rival state ideas arise, the Serbian and the Croatian. As the Croats endeavored to unite the whole race in a Croatian, and the Serbs in a Serbian, state, there was here created a dangerous source of quarrels. But nevertheless both parties pretended that there is but one nation indivisible. It was necessary to replace the Croatian and Serbian state idea by the common national idea. An essay of this kind was Illyrism, a literary and political movement which started in the thirties of the past century. A generation later Bishop Strossmayer, the friend of Gladstone, inaugurated the Yugoslav movement, which aimed to introduce into politics the natural fact of national unity and harmony among Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

The victory of Serbia in the Balkan War of 1912-1913 is often considered the starting point of the modern Yugoslav movement. But we must not forget that there was among all classes a strong feeling of national unity before the Balkan victories. The resolution of Reka (Fiume), October 4, 1905, is an amazing political document. Forty Deputies from Croatia, Dalmatia, and Istria declare in President Wilson's style that "every nation has the right to decide freely and independently concerning its existence and fate." The resolution of Reka (Fiume) has as its main purpose to state the duty and interest of the Croats "to fight side by side with the Hungarian nation for the fulfilment of its constitutional rights and liberties." The Croats are ready to support the Hungarian coalition in the endeavor to separate from Austria. This the Vienna court considers as high treason. Vienna is puzzled by the fact that the once loyal Croats are entering upon an anti-Hapsburg policy. The Hungarian coalition promises electoral reform in Croatia and free elections without Government interference. The national party defeats the reform, and a national Croatian Government is installed. The spell is broken. Henceforth the Croatian Parliament has no longer an anti-national majority. The Hungarian coalition is dissolved, but the political effect of the Reka (Fiume) resolution cannot be cancelled. Beside that, another event takes place. As a consequence of the Fiume resolution, the Serb Deputies of the Dalmatian Diet declare for joint action with the Croats, and the Croat members declare that Croats and Serbs are one nation. These political events find a strong echo in all Yugoslav countries, and so the resolution of Fiume becomes one of the pillars of the policy of national unity. Vienna's attempts to disunite Serbs and Croats by means of intrigues and persecutions and actions for high treason are in vain. The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina stirs up the Jugo-

slav feeling still more. The wave of national enthusiasm grows from year to year, and when the world catastrophe begins, the nation is already formed. The cruel persecutions during the first months of the war cement the nation.

Dr. Ante Trumbić, the father of the Reka (Fiume) resolution, was in May, 1915, elected president of the Yugoslav Committee, in which Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes are represented by public men, who, being in exile, saw for their nation only one future, absolute state independence and unification with Serbia. It was a policy without compromise. There was only one solution: dismemberment of Austria-Hungary. The leaders did not trust the Hapsburgs; Austrian autonomy made them laugh, and Austrian federalism they had enjoyed through centuries. Later events proved that this radical policy was absolutely right; the plain programme gave the movement the strongest backing. But the Committee had to fight two fronts. The friends of Austria and the Hapsburgs in England and France defended the existence and integrity of Austria-Hungary. Although Austria-Hungary was at war with France and England, nevertheless Austria-Hungary had in France among Catholics, in England among Liberals, a good press. One of the most interesting chapters of the diplomacy of the world war will show how many friends of the Hapsburgs came to the rescue, what efforts were made, especially in England, to detach Austria-Hungary from Germany and save her. The naughty members of the Yugoslav Committee refuted successfully all the pro-Austrian arguments and predicted the complete failure of this policy.

Far more delicate was the relation of the Yugoslav Committee to Italy. Italy entered the war with a political programme which was opposed to Yugoslav national unity. The claims of Italy upon the eastern shores of the Adriatic had been laid down in a secret treaty, for which imperial Russia has probably the greatest responsibility. It was the sacred duty of the Yugoslav Committee to defend the Yugoslav shores of the Adriatic and to denounce secret diplomacy as a political failure in our age. The campaign was skilfully conducted, and European public opinion was persuaded that a just settlement is possible only on democratic lines, and that the wish of the people has to be considered. But the struggle of the Committee with Italian public opinion handicapped the movement, inasmuch as Italy, one of the Allies, opposed international acknowledgment of Yugoslav national aims. In the meantime arose difficulties in securing unity of action among all nations who are interested in the breakdown of Austria-Hungary. The relations of Yugoslavs with Czechs and Poles during the first two years were not very close; there was collaboration, but not unity of action.

After the death of Francis Joseph, the Yugoslav Committee expressed in a strong manifesto the feeling it had towards the Hapsburgs. On the day of the coronation of Emperor Charles there was published this bill of indictment against a faithless, treacherous dynasty. The strength of the document lies in the words with which the Committee declares that there are no more ties of allegiance between the Hapsburgs and the seven million Yugoslavs. The Hapsburgs have systematically destroyed the vital strength of the nation. The Committee calls to the silent millions of Austria-Hungary: "You are free, your masters have no right to rule you." Bold action of this kind influenced strongly the mind of the Yugoslav population in Austria-Hungary. This was preparatory work, and only by knowing it can the later upheaval be understood.

The spring of 1917 brought to the Yugoslav Committee two great opportunities. The Russian revolution changed radically the relations of the Slavic world to the West European nations. The ghost of Pan-Slavism disappeared. The Western Powers became more inclined to grant Yugoslav state unity, as there was no more danger that Yugoslavia could be a satellite of Russia. The downfall of old Russia, whose imperialism was so closely connected with the Orthodox Church, had important consequences for Yugoslav unity. The Russian Synod established at Constantinople could prevent the consolidation of the Yugoslavs and foment religious discord. Imperial Russia did not hear the voice of the Yugoslav younger brother who solicited help in the Adriatic business. Protopopov, as head of the Russian parliamentary delegation, said in the summer of 1917 to the writer of this article, that the Yugoslavs would have to give up the Adriatic to Italy, but that the Ægean was theirs. After the fall of old Russia, a man came to power there who deserves the gratitude of the Yugoslavs. Milyukov was the first European statesman who declared that on the ruins of Austria-Hungary there is to be established free Yugoslavia, and he likewise took a fair and just standpoint in the Yugoslav-Italian controversy. The entrance of America into the war caused immense enthusiasm among Yugoslavs. The reason for this enthusiasm was first of all the conviction that the United States will never permit the conclusion of peace on any foundations that are not thoroughly democratic. The American idealism of Wilson touched the Yugoslav heart, and the grip that Gladstone once had on our people cannot be compared with the hold of President Wilson on the Yugoslavs in the chains of Austrian autocracy.

The Russian revolution and the entrance of America into the war hastened the resolution of Dr. Trumbić that an energetic step must be taken to reach the endorsement of the Yugoslav cause by the Allied Governments. Corfu became a new chapter of our efforts. Until the agreement known as the "Declaration of Corfu," the Yugoslav Committee and the Serbian Government worked separately, although in complete harmony. The Serbian Government gave to the Committee all diplomatic aid and support, and granted to the Yugoslavs of Austria-Hungary the right to enter the Serbian civil service as Serbian citizens do. But until the "Declaration of Corfu" there was no joint statement of political aims. The purpose of the Committee was to urge the Allied Powers to consider the Yugoslav question no longer as an internal question of Austria-Hungary, but as an international question. In doing that the Committee was only the executor of the will of all Yugoslav parties in Austria-Hungary. The Declaration of Corfu is a joint act, concluded between a delegation of the Yugoslav Committee as revolutionary representative, and considered by the Serbian Government as legal representative, of seven million Yugoslavs of Austria-Hungary, and the Serbian Government as representing the five million Yugoslavs of Serbia. It adopts the political ideas of the Yugoslav programme of 1915: unification of all Yugoslavs in one state on the basis of the full equality of the three branches, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The declaration states the equality of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox religions, and this equality, once realized by legislation, means the disestablishment of the Serbian national church. In a dignified way the declaration touches also the controversy with Italy. The territory of the new state must include the whole territory "inhabited compactly and in territorial continuity by our nation of the

three names. It cannot be mutilated without detriment to the vital interests of the community." "In the interest of freedom and equal rights of all nations, the Adriatic shall be free and open to each and all." The declaration states also that all great questions of future state life ought to find in the Constituent Assembly, elected on the largest democratic basis, their ultimate sanction.

During the Corfu Conference an important event took place. The Yugoslav members of the Vienna Parliament declared, May 30, 1917, that all Yugoslavs must be united in one independent national state. This manifesto coincided in the most important points with the programme of the Yugoslav Committee and occasioned a popular movement in Yugoslav lands, never dreamed of before. The Yugoslav Committee accordingly had a strong backing in the nearly unanimous will of the Yugoslavs of Austria-Hungary.

The declaration of Corfu met with a loud echo in Italy, where the policy of handicapping the movement for Yugoslav unity was already considered a failure. A great change occurred in Italian public opinion. Pourparlers between Italian representative men of official standing and the Yugoslav Committee began in December, 1917. The results of these early discussions can be easily detected in the Rome resolution of April, 1918. As soon as there was an agreement between Yugoslavs and Italians, a common understanding among all the oppressed nations of Austria-Hungary was easily reached. Dr. Trumbić, by removing the disagreement between Yugoslavs and Italians, gave the impetus for the formation of the anti-Austrian bloc. Yugoslavs, Czechs, Poles, Italians, Rumanians, declared in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome, on April 10, 1918: "Each of these peoples proclaims its right to establish its own nationality and state unity, and to attain full political and economic independence. Each of these peoples recognizes in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the instrument of Germanic domination and the fundamental obstacle to the realization of its aspirations and its rights."

The importance of the Rome Congress can be appreciated as it deserves only in connection with the statement of the State Department at Washington. The Secretary of State, in a communication of May 29, 1918, endorsed the work of the Rome Congress and quoted its resolutions. He declared that the aspirations of the Czecho-Slovaks and Yugoslavs had the earnest sympathy of the American Government. America thus gave an energetic lead. The American statement was followed by an expression of agreement on behalf of the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy, assembled at Versailles. Thus the Yugoslav Committee ultimately reached its goal, the international recognition of the Yugoslav problem. There is already to-day a Yugoslav nation. Twelve million Yugoslavs feel that they form one community of language, race, and civilization. Germany and the Hapsburgs will never be able to destroy the will of the Yugoslavs to be a nation, for they are already unified in heart and mind.

Austria-Hungary is to-day on the edge of internal collapse. On the day on which Germany's military strength is broken, Austria-Hungary no longer exists. From the Austrian chaos will emerge free Yugoslavia and Bohemia. Here the Russian story will not repeat itself. Anarchy will not be the consequence of the Austrian breakdown. The Yugoslav, Czech, and Polish nations are prepared for the great day; for they have nationalism, patriotism, discipline, and a definite political programme.

Bohemia and Yugoslavia are already commonwealths in making. The basis of future state life is already laid. Bohemia has her National Council, already recognized by the Allies as a kind of Provisional Government, and her revolutionary Czecho-Slovak army. Far more elaborate is the case of Yugoslavia. The army and diplomacy of Serbia are already the nucleus of the future Yugoslav institutions. The highest organs of national government are two-fold, the Serbian Government and the Yugoslav Committee, and there is no doubt that in the near future there will be reached a satisfactory solution of the problem how to create a single organ representative of the whole nation.

Yugoslavia a few years ago was a dream; to-day she is a reality. Her great state ideal will be the reconciliation of West and East, the removal of the difference which in the past divided Rome and Byzantium. Her state ideal is absolutely unimperialistic; she sees in democracy and social harmony of all classes the main issue of a happy commonwealth. Therefore she is radically opposed to German political ideas and expansion. Being the key of Europe, Yugoslavia will realize her state idea with faithful devotion.

John Purroy Mitchel

A MOST engaging and promising personality disappeared from public life when Major John Purroy Mitchel fell to his death at Gerstner Field on Saturday last. Two years ago there was no young man in the United States with such bright prospects before him. At that time but thirty-seven years of age, he was admittedly the ablest and best Mayor New York had ever had. Under him the city was taking great governmental strides. He had the respect and regard of the men who lead public opinion; students of civic administration were following his career with admiration, for they recognized that he had solved some problems, such as the police, which had utterly baffled men like Seth Low and William J. Gaynor. Beside that, he had all the charm of youth, good looks, dignified and straightforward bearing, and in speaking an admirable address. What wonder that the men near him felt that there was no office to which he could not aspire.

Alas! times change and men, too, and the whirligig of fate spins unceasingly. Last fall this same young paladin of reform politics was defeated for reelection by an overwhelming vote in favor of a man whom Mr. Mitchel denounced as an agent of the Kaiser, who in his personality, aims, and policies is the very antithesis of Mr. Mitchel. Embittered, disappointed to the core, Mr. Mitchel turned to the army service for which he had longed, for which he would have volunteered the minute that war came had he not felt that he owed it to the city and the cause to stand by and run again. When he applied for a commission he was amazed to find that he was not welcome. He would have made an ideal colonel of an infantry regiment, for he had the ability to pick the right subordinates, was an excellent disciplinarian and executive, and would always have led. But he had offended the powers that be—it is unpardonable to criticize the man in the White House—and the only commission available seemed to be one for a desk job in the Ordnance Corps, which a man of Mr. Mitchel's spirit could not consider. Fortunately, some wise person in Washington was able to waive the age-limit for appointment in the Aviation Corps and to obtain for him a rank somewhat com-

mensurate with his worth. In that service, to which he should not have been assigned, because of his age and physique, by a cruel and inexplicable accident he has now met a modern soldier's fate, for which he was quite ready.

There are so many things for which Mr. Mitchel deserves to be gratefully remembered that it would be impossible to name them all. But his readiness to break with his co-religionists in the matter of the administration of the private charities of this city was truly beyond praise. He was warned that it would cost him his reelection, and that it would lead him into most serious trouble with his church. It made no difference. Being in the right, he doggedly held to his policy and stood squarely behind his Commissioner of Charities. Abuse meant nothing to him. He showed that he was no politician, for he neither backed down nor sought to compromise, but literally faced the music, quite content to go down upon that issue if need be. It was a moral lesson and a demonstration of absolute moral courage, of which we get far too few.

Wise enough to know that he could not run all his departments, Mr. Mitchel trusted much to his subordinates. He gave Arthur Woods free hand with the police and supported him unreservedly as no other Mayor ever supported a Commissioner. To that Mr. Woods attributed all his success, but of course Mr. Woods is himself a remarkable executive and head and shoulders above any other Commissioner New York has ever seen. He was Mayor Mitchel's second choice—General Goethals fortunately declining the appointment—but even so, it is characteristic of the late Mayor's ability to choose good men that he turned to Mr. Woods as soon as the more spectacular appointment was out of the question. The cabinet which Mr. Mitchel gathered about him was a most efficient and public-spirited group, and Mr. Mitchel himself was able to lead and direct them so well because of his rare knowledge of the city government acquired as Commissioner of Accounts, President of the Board of Aldermen, and acting Mayor.

Never did a city Administration begin its career with greater promise and never were such difficult problems thrust upon one. Projects of the most far-reaching importance to this and future generations, all of profound intricacy, came before the Board of Estimate, and they were handled in a spirit of wise foresight rarely witnessed in New York. It is true that mistakes were made; but for Mr. George McAneny there would have been more. But whatever the mistakes, no one could justly challenge the honesty of purpose of the Board and the Mayor. Unfortunately, the evil genius of American journalism, William R. Hearst, was early alienated from Mr. Mitchel, for reasons entirely creditable to the latter, and the result was an unceasing stream of coarse and often wicked abuse, which, alas! poisoned the minds of a good many people who should have been made to realize that this young Mayor was working and planning for the city with an earnestness and an enthusiasm and a foresight beyond all praise.

It is, however, undeniably true that Mr. Mitchel was not at bottom a real democrat, and he played into the hands of his enemies by his inability to go among the plain people and make it clear to them that he was their Mayor and was working solely in their interests. Regrettably, too, there constantly appeared items about the Mayor's appearance in high society. He was a favorite with the rich, both men and women, and he constantly appointed to headships of volunteer commissions captains of finance and industry. His

proper friendship with the Vanderbilts, as well as his attendance at dances, was exploited to his extreme detriment, and when the campaign for reelection came on, he made matters much worse by wrapping himself in a mantle of patriotism and denouncing everybody who did not see eye to eye with him regarding the war. He did this in a city in which the bulk of the plain people were opposed to our entering the war, with the resultant enormous Socialist vote and the going over to Tammany of many, many thousands who had no use whatever for Mr. Hylan or his boss. It was a pitiful situation, grossly unjust to Mayor Mitchel himself and to the great issues for which he stood so magnificently. And when it subsequently appeared that a fund of over two millions of dollars had been raised to elect him and had been abominably misused and misspent by his campaign managers, there were many of his supporters ready to say frankly that they no longer regretted his defeat and that the popular instinct was perhaps right.

When all is said and done, the record of the Mitchel Administration as a whole will stand out clearer and more shining as the years go on. Already the contrast of the Hylan Government is striking enough. Never was the Fire Department so well handled, never were the city's charities so well administered, nor its finances grappled with upon such a sound and far-sighted basis as when Mayor Mitchel was in the City Hall. Under him the schools progressed wonderfully, while the prisons, for once, were carried on with some semblance of scientific and humanitarian management. There was not a single scandal of any proportion in any one of Mr. Mitchel's departments; and under him the death-rate steadily decreased, largely as a result of the efficiency of the Health Department. The war measures which he as Mayor took ought to have won him the gratitude of the national authorities, though they did not. He did his best to popularize the war; he believed in it, as he believed in extreme preparedness—there was not a little of the militarist in him. But he was always frank and open about it—just as he was a courteous and just antagonist in debate, with proper respect for sincere opponents.

No one could know and work with John Purroy Mitchel without becoming fond of him. He was forthright and downright; he had a righteous indignation at wrong, and a passionate anger at those who tried to thwart his purpose to benefit the city, or who sought their own advantage in dealing with it. On such occasions the violence of his language proved that he had still another qualification for service abroad—that which has long been historically attributed to those who fight in Flanders. Certainly no one who witnessed his reception of the foreign missions which came to this country in the summer of 1917 from England, France, Italy, and Japan will ever forget the presence of Mr. Mitchel on these historic occasions. In his person he seemed to typify militant young America. It made no difference whether one agreed with his views or not, no one could look upon him and not feel that he admirably represented the dignity and force and vital power of the greatest city of America. To think of Mayor Hylan in such a position is impossible; to recall Mayor Mitchel in it is to thank Providence that he was permitted to preside. The son of an Irish immigrant, he repaid well the family debt to the United States, and New York will be ungrateful indeed if it does not speedily associate his name with some of the great public works that so distinguish it among the cities.

O. G. V.

The Tragedy of Finland

By KARL G. DERNBY

THE civil war in Finland is over—at least temporarily. The "Whites," with the help of the Kaiser's bayonets, have conquered the "Reds" and are now apparently trying to make the country a more or less constitutional monarchy with a German prince as King. Simultaneously the White Government has concluded treaties with Germany, virtually making Finland a German vassal.

The big events on the battle fronts have overshadowed that far-off Baltic country in the attention of America. It has been difficult to determine whether the "Whites" or the "Reds" deserved the sympathies of the public. Recently, the representative of the late "Red" Government, Mr. Nuorteva, in a number of articles has tried to show that the "Reds" are the ardent friends of the Entente allies and have fought on their side, whereas the "Whites" are entirely pro-German. The matter is not quite so simple. It is more probable that the "Reds" care very little for the Entente.

To understand recent events in Finland, we must briefly review the history of that country. In the eleventh century, the newly Christianized Swedes made crusades and forcibly baptized the inhabitants of Finland, who were then a pure Mongolian race. (To-day there are in that country about three million Finns to four hundred thousand Swedes.) For six hundred years Sweden and Finland were united in about the same manner as England and Ireland are now joined. The Swedish Government showed a rather liberal attitude towards Finland, and no considerable controversies occurred. In the eighteenth century, however, a few attempts were made, with the help of Russia, to free Finland. In 1809, by the peace of Fredrikshamn, Sweden was compelled to yield the sovereignty to Russia. Finland became, nominally, a free country, united to Russia only through the Czar, who was also the Regent of Finland. The first decades were a happy time for Finland. Trade and industry prospered, the people grew wealthy, and literature, art, and science began to flourish. Finns and Russians got on quite happily together.

The Swedes, as has been said, constitute only a small fraction of Finland's population, the bulk consisting of Finns. There has been considerable intermarriage, however, and it is difficult to draw a sharp distinction between the two nationalities. A few words may be said, however, about the general character of the two peoples in Finland, as we in Sweden see it. The real Finn is hard-working and easily satisfied, but intellectually inferior to the Swede. His worst fault is his stubbornness. He loses his temper easily, especially under the influence of strong drink, and he becomes dangerous in his fury. Any sea captain who has had Finns among his crew will testify to the truth of this statement. The Swedes of Finland are to be found in the governing class, and in some districts among the farmers. They are, as a rule, well educated, industrious, and intelligent. The Swede of Finland is personally a gentleman, who does everything for his friends. He is liberal and spends a great deal of money, often carelessly. Towards his employees and subordinates he is, however, something of a Junker. He is infatuated with politics, and likes all kinds of political intrigues. His emotions are intense. An impertinent man once said that a Finlander could not live if

he were deprived of political conspiracies and hatred against his neighbors. All of Finland's culture is based on that of Sweden. That little country has produced such prominent men as the authors Runeberg and Topelius, the painter Edelfeldt, the composer Sibelius, the scientists Hjelt, Tigerstedt, and many others.

During the nineteenth century there developed in Finland a movement whose slogan was "Finland for the Finns." The Swedes were regarded as intruders. As a result, two parties, "Fennomanerna" and "Svekomanerna," were formed, and they fought bitterly for several decades. The antagonism was so strong that Swedish and Finnish families hardly dared associate, and Swedish and Finnish students would not appear together. It was a condition not dissimilar to that of whites and blacks in the South.

Moreover, this was not the only source of trouble. Trade and industry had grown rapidly. The wealthy class was comprised mostly of Swedes. Unrest was spreading among the workingmen, most of whom were Finns and difficult to handle. Socialism gained ground and was adopted in its most radical form. In fact, many years before the world war, Finland was on the verge of social upheaval. Thus, at the beginning of the present century, two bitter conflicts were going on in Finland—the class struggle and the struggle of nationalities.

During this period Finland's political position had changed disastrously. When the now deposed Czar Nicholas II ascended the throne, one of his chief interests was to break down the Constitution of Finland, and for military reasons to make the country a Russian province. Finland's soldiers were disarmed; their flag was confiscated; railroads and mail service were Russianized. Finland was deprived of her constitutional rights one after another. In place of the old-fashioned conservative Swedish Constitution, Finland was indeed given nominally the freest and most liberal Constitution in the world, with a one-chamber system and universal suffrage. This meant nothing, however, as the final word rested with the all-powerful Lord Lieutenant. The Finns resisted stubbornly, especially the Swedish officials, who, rather than yield to the new Russian scheme, exposed themselves to imprisonment or banishment. Among these the most famous victim was Judge Svinhufvud, the present dictator of Finland. All Finland, Socialists and Conservatives, Finns and Swedes alike, now had a common enemy—Russia. They hated the Russians with a bitter hatred.

When the first unsuccessful Russian revolution broke out in 1905, for a few weeks Finland became free. But the people could not unite. Even then the workingmen organized the Red Guard, and the bourgeoisie the White Guard, and an eye-witness has told me how in one big town the two guards were lined up against each other with lifted guns and only the cool head of the White captain prevented bloodshed. This antagonism enabled the Russians to regain control of the country, and in the succeeding years Finland suffered more than ever from the tyranny of the Czar. During this period many intellectual Finlanders were exiled or fled from the country; many went to Germany, where they were heartily welcomed. Germany, tyranniz-

ing over Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, and Schleswig, became much interested in the freedom of Finland. Many Finnish students also got their final education in Germany, and long before the war there were strong bonds of friendship between Finland and Germany. Berlin became a hotbed for Finnish conspiracies.

When the war broke out, Finland was more or less openly pro-German. During the first years the country profited much by the war, and some one said in 1916 that "Finland was the richest and happiest belligerent country in the world." But the Germans did not sleep, and they employed the same policy towards Finland as towards Ireland. Finlanders and Germans, and a few misguided Swedes, plotted vigorously to drive Sweden into the war. In 1915 a number of young Finlanders were smuggled over into Germany, where they received full military training.

Petrograd, however, never fell into the hands of Hindenburg. Many Finnish "chasseurs," as the Finnish soldiers were called, became uneasy and were imprisoned; some were sent to the eastern and western fronts; and many of them were used to serve as German spies in neutral and Entente countries. Seventeen of these curious Finnish "patriots," caught red-handed, are now serving long terms in Norwegian prisons.

The war did not stop the Russianizing of Finland; besides, there were fierce political fights between the Socialists and the bourgeoisie of that ill-fated land. At the election in the summer of 1916, the Socialists gained a narrow majority—102 seats out of 200 in the Diet. That summer I sat discussing the situation with a professor in the University of Helsingfors—a man who was very friendly to France and England. "Why do you hate the Russians so violently? Do you think the Germans are better masters?" I asked. "No, no," he answered; "I don't like the Germans at all; I regard their policy as barbarous. But if you are in a bad position, you don't care if it is the Devil himself that lends you a helping hand. Besides," he added, "there is always method and organization in German barbarism. There is no method in the tyranny of the Russians. One day they smile on a man and give him decorations; the next day gendarmes and Cossacks search his house and arrest him. He is sent to Siberia and his property is confiscated—everything without giving any reason. We are never safe, as matters now are." "But," I said, "are you not working for the independence of Finland?" "Independence!" he blurted out; "anything but independence. You have seen the election results. Do you know what it means? Of course, some of the Socialist leaders are educated and decent, but the great bulk are the worst kind of ruffians, with nothing but the lowest animal feelings. Independence? Then good-by to wealth, science, and culture in Finland."

Then came the Russian revolution in 1917, and Finland declared herself independent. But the Russian armies still controlled the country. Kerensky disappointed both the bourgeoisie and the Socialists—the former because he did not make peace and did not allow the "chasseurs" to return; the latter because he dissolved the Diet. The Socialists feared that a new election would deprive them of their majority, and the bourgeoisie hoped that it would do so. The latter therefore applauded this act of Kerensky, while the Socialists tried to defy it, but without success. This question of elections was the immediate cause of the terrible civil war that was to follow months after.

Kerensky was deposed in the fall of 1917, and Lenine and Trotzky became the leaders of Russia. The Finnish Socialists hailed them, and gave the Bolsheviks sympathy and support. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, showed very little sympathy for the Bolsheviks, and an open clash now came between the two parties in Finland. The hatred against Russia had united them temporarily, but that peril eliminated, they turned in rage against each other.

The sitting Cabinet was a Socialistic one, headed by Mr. Tokoi. The new elections gave the expected results. The bourgeoisie, or as we now may call them, the "Whites," won 106 and the "Reds" only 94 seats in the Diet. A "White" Government headed by Judge Svinhufvud followed and a "White Guard" was established, commanded by the brave general, Mannerheim, and made up of "chasseurs" returned from Germany, students, clerks, and others. The "Reds" regarded the elections as unjust, and the "White Guard" as a challenge, so they formed a "Red Guard," composed of laborers and Russian soldiers. Who fired the first shot and thus started the civil war will perhaps never be known. However, it spread rapidly and the "Whites" were entirely defeated. A new "Red" Government, headed by Mr. Tokoi and Dr. Manner, was formed. The situation soon grew beyond control of the leaders, who are to be regarded as honest and brave men, and who tried to avoid all excesses. However, atrocities of every kind, sometimes veritable murder and butchery, were committed against the wealthier people by the demoralized "hooligans" and Russian soldiers.

In their despair the "Whites" turned to Sweden and asked that country to intervene. A large number of the Swedes were strongly in favor of intervention, but the Government refused, as the request to Sweden appeared likely to be a last German move to drag that country into the war. While men such as Svinhufvud and Mannerheim were honest and trustworthy, there were beside them many obscure Finnish-German conspirators, who had previously secured the Kaiser's promise of armed German intervention. What then happened is well known. The "Whites," assisted by the Kaiser's well-trained soldiers, soon broke the resistance of the "Reds," and with strictly German methods took frightful revenge on men, women, and boys.

Who is most to blame? The poor Finnish workingmen, with their cruelty, ignorance, and dirtiness, at least fought for the independence and liberty of their country and for their constitution. But it is sad to think that the "Whites," in spite of their heroic struggle to save Finland's wealth and culture, fought for German vassalage in order to secure their economic privileges. The situation is not unlike that of Ireland and Ulster. There are two sides to both cases. Standing as spectators, looking at the tragedy, we cannot escape the conclusion that Finland, fearing death, has committed suicide as a nation.

The Germans will never leave Finland of their own accord. There are many Finnish patriots who look on this fact with regret, and the brilliant general, Mannerheim, who fought bravely in the Russian army, has resigned his post in protest. Many of the White politicians also oppose the proposed election of a German prince as King. Nobody knows what will be the next development, and it is useless to speculate. But perhaps the Finns will not find their powerful master so agreeable as he at first appeared, and will therefore turn against him. All we can say is, that the Finnish tragedy is not yet ended. This is only the curtain after the first act.

A Revelation of Belgian Poets

By STODDARD DEWEY

LONG ago Maeterlinck was pronounced "a very Belgian Shakespeare." In Paris Georges Rodenbach won evanescent fame. When Charles van Lerberghe died in Brussels eleven years ago, it was related that he left a promising "Song of Eve." Emile Verhaeren became fairly known to all who listen for voices singing the world's joy and stress and pain. And that was practically all the ordinary poetry-reader knew of Belgian poets.

The two volumes of Professor Dumont-Wilden's "Anthology of Belgian Writers"—*poètes et prosateurs*—reveal something more. He deprecates speaking of "Belgian literature of French expression." In his poems of Belgians, every reader will recognize that "nationality" which the world is determined to save from war's extinction. The offhand phrase and jingle, crude color and rich savors, even when most reminiscent, are all their own. Gentle landscapes of the Meuse and flat fields of the lazy Scheldt, fragrant heather of the Campine and vaporous sea-downs, bells of Bruges and lace knitters in the sun, barefoot friars, white-robed monks and black-faced miners, universities and labor strikes, square-built peasants and bourgeois and curés—all concentrated in the space of one small American State—have been and shall be again Belgium the nation.

A partial prophecy of all this permanence is in the railing hexameter of the oldest Paris university, which knew students from all nations:

Anglus edax et Belga bibax, Germanus utrumque.
(The English do eat, the Belgians do drink, the Germans do one and the other.)

It was near 1880 when Young Belgium found utterance in song. Curiously, the literary movement stirred most the "free" universities—Catholic Louvain and free-thinking Brussels—more than Ghent and Liège under their state functionaries. In spite of opposing labels, the national thought was mixing and fusing.

Ivan Gilkin, "strongly impressed by Baudelaire" at first, finally worked up, in his "Prometheus" of 1900, to "a Goethean philosophic deportment."

On the lotus seated, Maya's dreaming
—And water's running, water's running—
Down she casts her great eyes never wakened
From her smile of an eternal maiden—
Lo! water's running, water's running.

Hands joined like a lily still unopened,
She is looking at the shower of petals
As they fall into the hungry river,
While her lotus sweet is newborn ever
—And water's running, water's running.

So she dreams the world and smiles. The olden
Crazy dream goes ever on unfolding.
Forms are coming, going, mixing—nothing
True or false is, nothing good or evil
—And water's running, water's running.

Nothing lives and nothing dies! Unceasing
Up the world is waxing, downward waning,
Flowing like the long green waves of water.
Maya, thou still smilest to these nothings
—While water's running, water's running.

In young days of easy blasphemy, this poet sang one-

sidedly and savagely "The Te Deum of the Poor" to a God of the rich:

Thee we praise, Lord, Thee we glorify,
Sabaoth God of armies,
We the poor whose name is legion
—Darksome legions starving!

"Prometheus" comes from an older understanding. Thomas Aquinas might wonder and Emerson smile coldly at verses like these:

One only soul indwells in all,
Serene and infinite, divine.

Zeus! how could I once mistake thee!
Huntsman, tyrant, king, I took thee
Of all grief and evil pain.
Now I feel and now I see:
My justice thy justice is,
And my love, too, is thy love;
When I cried out for the day,
Thou it was that wished the dawn
And the light of truth divine.

O thou one and boundless will,
Thyself scattering in the world
And suffering that thou 'rt the world,
And turning to thy oneness back in tears!

Max Elskamp, born in 1862 in Antwerp, is very Flemish in folklore and religion—"quite able to play in the straw with Bethlehem's Babe." "Illuminations," as on sacred mediæval parchments, is the title of one of his books.

A poor man entered in my house
For songs which he came to sell,
When Easter was singing in Flanders
With a thousand birds sweet to hear—
A poor man sang in my house.

And the bells were singing also
'Mid the trees that kissed each other,
While the happy folk were passing—
And the bells were singing also
From Sunday to Saturday all day long.

(From *Poor Man's six songs to celebrate the week in Flanders*.)

Albert Mockel, of Liège, has the uttermost tintinnabulation of his country's bells in rhyme and metre; and "he has brought into French poetry peculiar shades of the Walloon soul, which he alone has known how to express."

From afar, from afar, none knows from where,
There came a man, in his hand a lyre;
And he went singing everywhere
—To the strings so short of his little lyre—
Singing he went, like a crazy man singing
Of women's love and languishment vain
On his lyre.

Frail was the lyre, and with roses a-bloom,
And sweet the wind wafted his breath of song,
Till, far as sight, from mountain and plain,
From valley to forest, from meadow to wood,
Came youths and came maidens
To hear him tell of the sweet, sad pain
He was singing.

Young men and maidens listened with the proper tumult of emotions so long as he sang of love and glory, but—

When the singer took his gravest voice, like a man's,
And struck the heaviest chord of his lyre—

At the iron gates of Death—

"Oh la!" said the youths (and the maidens laughed).
 "Oh la!" they said, "this fellow's a fool!
 He sings and he comes none knows from where
 —What does he want of us with his lyre?"
 (And the maidens laughed!)
 "Ho la!" said the maidens, "Ho, the wolf in the wood!"
 And these and those, twining arms around necks,
 All these and all those went singing away—
 But the maidens, in play, turned to throw at him stones
 As they laughed, as they laughed.

Fernand Séverin, of Namur, began with Mockel's Walloons, enlisted in Verhaeren's Young Belgium, and has ended "something like a Lamartinian."

Slow fell the summer eve and proudly
 We sailed from the enchanted shore:
 Lazy breathed the air to breezes languid,
 Faint light through the shadows shone once more.

We spoke not, in trouble at Night's beauty!
 Passion-pale I saw thee, silent, wise;
 Inward joy upon thy face was shining,
 Lightsome tears were sparkling in thine eyes.
 (From *A Song in Shadow*.)

Georges Marlow, a doctor of desolate Malines, "calls back more intensely than any other the dear voices that are still."

'Tis the things of other days,
 Childish and sad,
 Weeping in the little voices
 Of this city of my exile.
 (From *The Soul in Exile*.)

Emile Cammaerts publishes in London, where he lives, French verse of purest Belgian inspiration.

THE THREE KINGS.

*Three Wise Men followed the Star,
 Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar.—Longfellow.*

There's a far-away sound behind the hill,
 The russet hill in the blue of the night:
 The Star's at the head and the moon at the tail
 Of the tinkling of crystalline bells.

One camel, two camels, three camels come
 —The Star at the head and the moon at the tail—
 Three big humps and three great Kings,
 All silver and gold in the blue of the night.

To the dancing tune of the crystalline bells,
 Gaspard's beard in the wind, Melchior's arms like a cross,
 They trot swiftly down from the top of the hill
 Where Balthazar's straining his eyes to the Star.

"At Thy feet we lay our sceptres down,
 Our crowns in Thy arms and our hearts in Thy hands,
 And we bring to Thee myrrh and the fine, fine gold
 And sweet odors of frankincense.

"Hither we come from the end of the world
 —Clink-clank through the snow, clink-clank in the cold—
 Following forever the vagabond Star,
 And we hunger for Thee!"

(From *Chants Patriotiques*, 1912.)

Cammaerts's "After Antwerp" (1915) was orchestrated by Sir Edward Elgar, but the poem is first published now.

How long, how long,
 Oh! my country,
 Shalt thou stretch patiently
 Into the night
 Thy tortured hands?

Correspondence

Concerning a Date in "Woodstock"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Readers of Scott will remember that the plot of "Woodstock" relates largely to the adventures of King Charles II when a fugitive in England after the battle of Worcester.

The second paragraph of the first chapter begins thus:

On a morning in the end of September or beginning of October in the year 1652, being a day appointed for a solemn thanksgiving for the decisive victory at Worcester, a respectable audience was assembled in the old chantry, or Chapel of King John. —(Everyman's Library.)

Why 1652? Why not rather 1651? The battle of Worcester was fought on September 3, 1651. Charles, who fought and fought well on that field, became at once a fugitive, and after about six weeks of wandering sailed from Shoreham on October 15, 1651, and landed at Fécamp in Normandy the next day ("Encyclopædia Britannica," article Charles II). The date 1652 is therefore unhistorical, as the date of occurrences which took place while Charles was still in peril of his life in England. Moreover, a "solemn thanksgiving" for the victory at Worcester would have been a sadly belated *Te Deum* if it had been postponed for thirteen months. There is nothing in the plot of the novel which requires so late a date. One therefore wonders whether Scott's pen slipped or the printer made an error.

FREDERIC ADAMS

Orange, N. J., June 24

Poetic Feet

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The quotation from Mr. Phillpotts's poem, as given by O. W. Firkins in the *Nation* of June 29, puzzles me.

There is a fold of lion-colored earth
 With stony feet in the Ægean blue.

What is the "fold" referred to which has "feet"? Has a "fold" "feet"?

ELLA BROOKS-BARR

Kenosha, Pa., July 4

Whooping After Hunger

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Supplementary to the Elizabethan quotations regarding the use of coarse brown bread published in the *Nation* of May 18, I enclose some from the fourteenth century. The complaint against these coarse flours is a familiar note in English literature, and doubtless many similar passages can be cited. Among the earliest are the appended lines from "The Vision of Piers Plowman" (B-text, circa 1377). I modernize the spelling and occasionally the form of a word.

Waster, whose vagrant idleness and vicious discontent point many a moral in this once famous allegory, had refused to work in spite of the knights and the law, defying Piers and his plough also and threatening violence whenever they met; quite in modern fashion, it may be noted. He had grown so fastidious that he would not work, but

wandered about, and even the beggars would eat no bread that had beans in it, but only clean wheat. According to the parable, Piers then "whooped after Hunger" and demanded vengeance on the wasters.

Hunger in haste then caught waster by the maw,
And wrung him so by the [belly] that both his eyes watered;
He buffeted the Britner about the cheeks
That he looked like a lantern all his life after.

Piers with a pease loaf prayed Hunger to cease.

"Suffer them [to] live," he said, "and let them eat with hogs,
Or else beans and bran baken together."
[Then all the vagabonds] flew into barne
And flapped on with flails from morn till even.

For a potful of pease that Piers had made.

"Hear now," quoth Hunger, "and hold it for a wisdom;
Bold beggars and big that must their bread [earn]
With hounds bread and horse bread hold up their hearts,
Abate them with beans."

ELIZABETH DEERING HANSCOM

Smith College, May 18

A "Venerable Shivaree"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your contributors who are noting the literary echoes of the "Battle of Prague" may like to be reminded that it was often played on the Grangerford's little old piano. It was this piano that, according to Huck Finn, "had tin pans in it."

Readers of "A Tramp Abroad" will also recall the bride from "Arkansaw," who in the hotel at Interlaken, "turned on all the horrors of the 'Battle of Prague,' that venerable shivaree." When she finished, the narrator asked her to play it again. He records that on the second trial she made it all discords, and "got an amount of anguish into the cries of the wounded that shed a new light on human suffering."

BEN C. CLOUGH

Cambridge, Mass., May 28

War Aims and Augurs

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Professor Breasted's able article entitled "The Bridgehead of Asia Minor" in your issue of June 8 is delightfully informing and timely. While the conclusions reached by Professor Jastrow and seconded in your editorial note seems to promise more for enduring peace, one is intrigued by Mr. Breasted's frankness in declaring his conviction that "the British Empire has become a great and sacred international trust," furnishing "the basic organization for policing the world." "Let the English, therefore, extend their protectorate control over Palestine, Syria, and a free [sic] Armenia." This, with the added suggestion that France give up prior claims in Syria, sounds so little in accord with our stated war aims that one wonders if Mr. Breasted will not be up against the Espionage law. Or do the augurs wink?

M. H.

Pemaquid Point, Maine, June 30

In Memory of Adrien Bertrand

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Not having seen in the American press any mention of the death, last November, of Adrien Bertrand, I beg to express, at this late date, my deep personal regret for the loss to French letters of such a promising young writer.

Like every true artist, Bertrand detested war, though he had a very definite and noble conception of patriotism. At the outbreak of the European conflict he put aside his literary work and rushed enthusiastically to the front as an officer of dragoons, to defend the France he loved infinitely more even than art. Twice wounded early in the war, the second time seriously, he lingered for two years, hopeful of recovery and confident to the end that the ideals of France would triumph. In one of the letters I received from him in the summer of 1915 he wrote:

More than ever I expect a French victory, in spite of the tenacity, the formidable preparation, the methodical thoroughness, and the undeniable courage of the Germans. . . . We shall win. It must not be otherwise: for we are the very source of life in Europe, and this great country, which produced Racine and Voltaire and Robespierre, must live eternally, whatever be the sacrifices of one generation. It must live for the good of humanity. I give Germany due credit, and I know her merits. But she has no sense of justice, no conception of liberty. She is not a daughter of Roman law; she did not go through 1793. Her domination would mean the end of all those precious acquisitions and of the traditional flame of beauty that was kindled for us first in ancient Greece.

Unable longer to wield the sword, Bertrand resumed his literary activity, planned new works, and, delving into the history of French civilization, discovered ever new reasons for celebrating the national genius. Thanks to his enthusiasm, both prose and verse now flowed from his pen, despite the wounds that were sapping his vitality. "La Première Bérénice," the charming comedy in verse which Emile Fabre produced at the Théâtre Français last year, shows the young poet's devotion to Racine and the classicists. Indeed, it was chiefly to the great classic writers and to Voltaire, we are told, that Bertrand owed his admirable style, a splendid specimen of which we find in "L'Appel du Sol" (1916), the best of his prose works and probably the most natural French novel of the war. It is also intensely patriotic. Here we see the justification of discipline and self-sacrifice, the influence of an ideal, the mysterious force of the national soil.

We merely obey an all-powerful will that has been transmitted to us. It springs from the very bowels of the soil, to which we are attached, and we are its instruments. . . . The living sacrifice themselves for those who have not yet even definite hope of life. Never was mankind so great; never had it risen to such lofty heights.

Noteworthy among Bertrand's early works are "Les Soirs ardents," a volume of verse which he once characterized modestly as a "youthful error," a critical study of Catulle Mendès, and a volume on Eugène Brieux. Poet, novelist, dramatist, critic, patriot, Adrien Bertrand had shown himself at twenty-seven a worthy son of France. All who knew him will agree with René Doumic, who, on learning of his death, wrote: "He was one of the most juvenile, enthusiastic, noble-minded men I have ever known."

WILLIAM H. SCHEFFLEY

University of Pennsylvania, June 4

Military Necessity

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Apropos of the celebrated remark of Bluntschli in Shaw's "Arms and the Man" that his cartridge pouches were filled with chocolate, may I call attention to the following passage from a letter of Alan Seeger, quoted in the introduction to his poems and speaking of conditions at the front: "Our corporal told us the other day that there wasn't a man in the squad that wouldn't exchange his rifle for a jar of jam"? (Introduction, p. xxxii).

HOWARD M. JONES

University of Montana, June 23

Professional Prerogatives

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your trustees vs. faculty campaign, I hope you will induce some one who has the data at command to discourse on the fact that the institutions most notorious for poor teaching and decadence of scholarship are those where the senior professors have clung to the prerogatives, recognized everywhere until comparatively recent days, of managing their own departments without presidential interference. Your campaign seems to me largely designed to restore a condition of affairs which came near to ruining higher education. That the present state of collegiate government is absurd and that the results are deplorable, I fully agree, but I do not believe that you know a college faculty to whose uncontrolled management you would entrust your own child.

This letter is induced by the extraordinarily sane article of Academicus in the *Nation* of May 25, with its closing sentence, which leaves me wondering whether the writer really is acquainted with academic annals or honestly faces their teachings. I think that he suggests the only practical move now possible: a campaign for the election to the governing board of professors whose judgment is respected by the existing governors. This is a very different thing from the election of professors popular with the majority of graduates, or professors who would be selected by their colleagues to voice the professorial state of mind.

Have you any evidence that the English universities are well administered by their Societies of Scholars, or that they have ever consistently advanced scholarship? They have done what we are probably not doing so well: turning out influential citizens. Whenever they have tried to do more (speaking under correction), as when Cambridge started to become a scientific institution, the impulse came from outside, unless I greatly mistake. Would American professors do any better than British?

G. P. W.

Cambridge, Mass., June 1

Contributors to this Issue

BOGUMIL VOSNJAK, of the faculty of jurisprudence of the Croatian University at Zagreb, has been a member of the Yugoslav Committee.

KARL G. DERNBY, doctor of philosophy of the University of Stockholm, is a travelling fellow of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, at present engaged in research work at the Rockefeller Institute.

The Supreme Flight

John Purroy Mitchel, July 6, 1918

By MARION COUTHOUY SMITH

HE was set free at last from toilsome things,
In the brave company of air and light;
But when his valiant spirit found its wings,
Came the swift summons to diviner flight.

He has gone forth where dream and action are
But one harmonious motion of the soul;
We shall recall him as a fiery star
Flashing before us to some splendid goal.

BOOKS

The Unseen World

On the Threshold of the Unseen. By Sir William F. Barrett. With an Introduction by James H. Hyslop. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.50 net.

Spirit Intercourse: Its Theory and Practice. By J. Hewat McKenzie. New York: Mitchell Kennerley. \$1.50 net.

Immortality: An Essay in Discovery. By Burnett H. Streeter, A. Clutton-Brock, C. W. Emmet, J. A. Hadfield, and the author of "Pro Christo et Ecclesia," etc. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$2.25 net.

OF the spiritual questions raised anew by the Great War, none is attracting more attention than that of the immortality of the soul. The enormous loss of life on the battlefield, the unfulfilled character of the lives thus abruptly ended, the hunger of those left behind for reunion with "the loved and lost," combine to quicken and deepen the perennial interest in the problem of survival after death. Of the various phases of this interest in immortality, none is more striking than the renewal of discussion of spiritualism, psychical research, and kindred matters. The literary exploits of "Patience Worth" have for some time been a subject of popular debate. The *confessio fidei* of Conan Doyle has attracted wide attention. Sir Oliver Lodge's "Raymond," because of its rare combination of human and speculative interest, has probably gathered more readers than any other book ever written on life after death.

At the opening of his excellent essay in "Immortality," on *The Good and Evil in Spiritualism*, the author of "Pro Christo et Ecclesia" states that "it is important to distinguish clearly between scientific investigations such as those undertaken by the Society for Psychical Research . . . and the religious or quasi-religious movement which goes by the name of Spiritualism in England and America and of Spiritism on the Continent." In discussions of so-called spiritualistic phenomena, he continues, "this distinction must be kept in mind."

The first of these books is by Sir William F. Barrett, for thirty-seven years professor of experimental physics in the Royal College of Science for Ireland. It was at his suggestion that the Psychical Research Society was founded in 1882; and it is his name, together with those of such distinguished colleagues as Henry Sidgwick, Sir William Crookes, Alfred Russel Wallace, and Sir Oliver Lodge, which has given this organization a place in the world of science, and its activities an indisputable dignity and im-

portance. Sir William brings to his work the rare combination of a vigorous scientific spirit, equipped with exact knowledge of modern methods and results, and a genuine religious outlook. Huxley and Swedenborg, the biologists of the nineteenth and the mystics of the fourteenth century, find equal place within his heart. Couple with these qualifications a personal study of psychical phenomena extending over more than forty years, and it is not surprising to find Dr. Hyslop describing Professor Barrett's book as "the best work of the kind that has ever appeared in English."

In this judgment we concur. The book is valuable as an authoritative summary and interpretation, by one peculiarly competent to speak, of all that has been accomplished through forty years of exhaustive labor in securing evidence of immortality. Some hitherto unpublished episodes of alleged spirit intercourse are gathered from the author's own investigations, but these find inconspicuous place in what is offered primarily as a review of the field. Here are accounts of such physical phenomena as rappings, table-tipping, levitation, materialization, and spirit photography; studies of automatic writing, spirit possession, and the various problems of mediumship; inquiries into clairvoyance, telepathy, and kindred phenomena of the occult. Careful chapters on scientific method, canons of evidence, doctrines of causation, and human personality give a background of reality to the strange and on occasion weird occurrences that come to light. At the end is an excursion into the questions of God and the soul, which lifts the book from the realm of science to that of religion. All is written with admirable lucidity and vigor; and a sweeping faith is nowhere found inconsistent with the utmost tolerance of skepticism and even denial.

That Professor Barrett cherishes absolute belief in the immortality of the soul, goes without saying. But he does not allow his conviction to betray him into exaggerating the nature or importance of the conclusions to be drawn from psychical research, nor is he led a single hair's breadth beyond what he feels the evidence can show. Hence the significance which attaches, by its very moderation, to what he asserts psychical research has demonstrated. First, he says, it has shown that there exists "an unseen world, in which myriads of living creatures exist, some with faculties like our own, and others with faculties beneath or transcending our own; and [that] it is possible that the evolutionary development of [this] world has run on parallel lines to our own." Secondly, he is sure that "occasional communications" have been received "from those who have once lived on earth—not as satisfactory as one could wish, and never a complete revelation of their personality." These facts are insufficient as support of the full Christian faith in immortality; but, united with the evidence of centuries of religious experience, they convince Professor Barrett of the reality of the eternal hope.

Our second book, "Spirit Intercourse," represents that spiritualistic approach to the problem of immortality which the author of "Pro Christo et Ecclesia" insists must be sharply distinguished from that represented by Professor Barrett and the Psychical Research Society. The distinction is made evident to anybody who reads these two books together. If scientific caution is the note of the former volume, credulity is the note of the latter. Whereas Professor Barrett discusses spirit photography only to conclude "that we need much more conclusive evidence on this subject than has yet been obtained," Mr. McKenzie asserts that "at pres-

ent several psychic photographers can procure spirit forms upon three-fourths of the plates exposed." If Professor Barrett finds the evidence for materializations "inconclusive," and can go no further than to describe Sir William Crookes's experiences with spirit hands and bodies as "absolutely inexplicable," Mr. McKenzie knows materialization as an everyday occurrence and describes the process with as much detail as a chemist might describe a laboratory experiment. Professor Barrett is troubled because "no messages that will stand critical inquiry [have ever been received] from the greatest or saintliest men and women who once lived on earth"; Mr. McKenzie, on the other hand, knows of frequent communications from these "greatest" and "saintliest," and even attempts a solution of the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy by asserting that the dramas, which seem to fit so strangely the humble actor from Stratford, were the "inspired thoughts" of Euripides "in spiritual realms, passed through the medium of Shakespeare, who collaborated with Francis Bacon."

It is impossible to describe the extraordinary "information" imparted in this book. Mr. McKenzie uses freely the names of the leaders of psychical research and quotes from their writings. It is a pity that he seems to know nothing of their methods. It is more than a pity that he should not appreciate the dangers to the novice in this field and be led into the writing of such a chapter as that on First Steps to Spirit Intercourse. We can perhaps do no better service than to commend Mr. McKenzie, and any one who may be impressed by his book, to a careful reading of the passage on "the sin of credulity" in *The Good and Evil in Spiritualism*, in the volume "Immortality."

This essay, just referred to, represents a third attitude towards the problem of spirit communication. The author regards with seriousness the work of the Psychical Research Society. In his survey of the field, he asserts that his "own opinion is that there is real ground for reverent investigation" of all alleged phenomena of intercourse with the living dead. But as "the conclusion of the whole matter," he finds himself unconvinced. The great work of the Society, he contends, is in revealing the hitherto unsuspected and now unimaginable capacities of the human mind. With Maeterlinck (see "Our Eternity"), he believes that "the hypothesis of telepathy between the living is the more probable explanation of the super-psychical knowledge of mediums," and thinks it unscientific to adopt the farther explanation until the nearer has been proved inadequate. The larger part of this valuable essay is taken up with a statement of "objections to the spiritualist hypothesis." It is doubtful if the case for the negative has ever been more ably stated.

"Immortality" contains nine essays in all. Besides the one on Spiritualism, there are "Presuppositions and Prejudgments" and "A Dream of Heaven," by A. Clutton-Brock; "The Mind and the Brain," by Dr. J. A. Hadfield; "The Resurrection of the Dead" and "The Life of the World to Come," by B. H. Streeter; "The Bible and Hell," by C. W. Emmett; "Reincarnation, Karma, and Theosophy" and "The Undiscovered Country," by the author of "Pro Christo et Ecclesia." The book is a work of able scholarship and noble spirit. The case for immortality is stated in a way to bring conviction to the conservative mind; and an attempt is made to rescue the ethical content of such conceptions as Resurrection, Heaven, and Hell from the oblivion now threatening an ancient and discredited theology.

Logic and Life

The Organisation of Thought. By A. N. Whitehead. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.

Mysticism and Logic and Other Essays. By Bertrand Russell. New York: Longmans, Green & Company. \$2.50 net.

TO logicians and mathematicians Messrs. Whitehead and Russell require no introduction, for they have been long distinguished for their researches in the logical foundations of mathematics. Their "Principia Mathematica" (projected in four huge volumes of which three have appeared) is not merely the greatest work in the literature of logic; it is doubtless the weightiest contribution of our time to the fundamentals of philosophy. Exceedingly technical alike in content and in method, the "Principia," though its indirect influence will be felt by all, is itself intelligible to only a very narrow circle of readers. Such, however, is fortunately not the case with either of the volumes under review. The eight discourses composing Dr. Whitehead's volume, like the ten composing that of Mr. Russell, deal with a wide range of topics, educational, philosophic, and scientific. Moreover, the discussions, even the more scientific discussions, are, with but little exception, conducted in the language current among educated men and women.

Readers who are aware of the authors' preëminence in the field of modern logic will think twice before turning from what they say regarding the relations of logic to natural science on the one hand and to philosophy on the other. Mr. Whitehead says:

Neither logic without observation nor observation without logic can move one step in the formation of science. We may conceive humanity as engaged in an internecine conflict between youth and age. Youth is not defined by years, but by the creative impulse to make something. The aged are those who, before all things, desire not to make a mistake. Logic is the olive branch from the old to the young, the wand which in the hands of youth has the magic property of creating science.

Equally just and hardly less striking is the following statement by Mr. Russell respecting logic as the essence of philosophy:

Modern logic has the effect of enlarging our abstract imagination and providing an infinite number of possible hypotheses to be applied in the analysis of any complex fact. It has introduced the same kind of advance into philosophy as Galileo introduced into physics, making it possible at last to see what kinds of problems may be capable of solution, and what kinds must be abandoned as beyond human powers.

It would be a mistake to infer from the last quotation that the author is unsympathetic towards philosophies that may not lay claim to being severely logical. On the contrary, "the greatest men," says Mr. Russell, "who have been philosophers have felt the need both of science and of mysticism." But the mystic's beliefs in insight or revelation, in the unity of all things, in the unreality of time and of evil, require to be logically examined. The result is that, however much mysticism is to be commended as an attitude towards life, it cannot be accepted as a creed about the world.

The mature thought of a profound logician respecting such great matters as religion, art, industry, and education is always deeply interesting. In respect to these things, the attitudes of the authors are clear and admirable. "The essence of education," says Mr. Whitehead, "is that it be religious." But what is religious education? It is "an

education that inculcates duty and reverence." What is duty and what are we to understand by reverence?

Duty arises from our potential control over the course of events. Where attainable knowledge could have changed the issue, ignorance has the guilt of vice. And the foundation of reverence is the perception that the present holds within itself the complete sum of existence, backwards and forwards, the whole amplitude of time, which is eternity.

More poignant, if not more profound, are the following words of Mr. Russell, spoken of a free man's worship:

The life of Man, viewed outwardly, is but a small thing in comparison with the forces of Nature. The slave is doomed to worship Time and Fate and Death, because they are greater than anything he finds in himself, and because all his thoughts are of things which they devour. But, great as they are, to think of them greatly, to feel their passionless splendor, is greater still. And such thought makes us free men; we no longer bow before the inevitable in Oriental subjection, but we absorb it, and make it a part of ourselves. To abandon the struggle for private happiness, to expel all eagerness of temporary desire, to burn with passion for eternal things—this is emancipation, and this is the free man's worship.

In relation to art it would be difficult to find finer, truer words than Dr. Whitehead has spoken of style as an aim and test of education.

Finally, there should grow the most austere of all mental qualities; I mean the sense for style. It is an æsthetic sense, based on admiration for the direct attainment of a foreseen end, simply and without waste. Style in art, style in literature, style in science, style in logic, style in practical execution have fundamentally the same æsthetic qualities, namely, attainment and restraint. The love of a subject in and for itself, where it is not the sleepy pleasure of pacing a mental quarterdeck, is the love of style as manifested in that study. Here we are brought back to the position from which we started, the utility of education. Style, in its finest sense, is the last acquirement of the educated mind; it is also the most useful. The administrator with a sense for style hates waste; the engineer with a sense for style economizes his material; the artisan with a sense for style prefers good work. Style is the ultimate morality of mind. But above style and above knowledge there is something, a vague shape like fate above the Greek gods. That something is Power. Style is the fashioning of power, the restraining of power.

But how is style to be acquired? The answer is: "Style is always the product of specialist study; it is the peculiar contribution of specialism to culture."

No one who is interested in the persistent question of the relation of science to culture can afford not to read attentively Mr. Russell's essay on "The Place of Science in a Liberal Education." It is in some respects the profoundest discussion of the subject we have seen. Space is lacking for an analysis of it and a single brief quotation must suffice as a clue:

The instinct of constructiveness, which is one of the chief incentives to artistic creation, can find in scientific systems a satisfaction more massive than any epic poem. The desire for a larger life and wider interests, for an escape from private circumstances, and even from the whole recurring human cycle of birth and death, is fulfilled by the impersonal cosmic outlook of science as by nothing else.

The last three of Mr. Whitehead's essays ought to be read in connection with the last five of Mr. Russell's. Taken together these eight forward-looking discourses present in suggestive outline a magnificent scientific and philosophic enterprise, an enterprise that will require decades or even centuries to advance it far towards completion. What is that enterprise? It is nothing less than the undertaking which has for its aim to transfer the fundamental things

of mathematics and natural science from the status of indirect inference to that of immediate knowledge. It is a question regarding existence. At present the existence of such fundamental things as point, instant, electron, atom, molecule, and so on, is not immediately known, but is merely inferred from the fact that the supposition of their existence helps to explain phenomena. The proposed programme is to construct the fundamentals out of the immediate data of sense, for these data are the most certain of facts. Once the fundamentals are thus consciously constructed, we shall be qualified to say of them: we *know* they exist because we have *made* them. In that event, science will rest upon our only certitudes—the facts of sense.

A Great French Woman

Madame Adam. By Winifred Stephens. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. \$4 net.

THIS biography has a double value in that it portrays sympathetically a figure fascinating in herself, who, at the same time, has been intimately associated with French politics and society for the last two generations. Madame Adam, *née* Juliette Lambert, has been called "la grande française." Through the influence of her brilliant salon, her magazine (*La Nouvelle Revue*), and her friendships with such statesmen as Thiers and Gambetta, such writers as G. Sand, Flaubert, and Barrès, her history has been largely identified with that of her country. She has always been an ardent patriot, a feminist, an independent romantic soul.

Born in 1836, Juliette Lambert passed a youth torn between two affections, the revolutionary ideals of her father and the aristocratic conservatism of her grandmother. Dr. Lambert was concerned in the Revolution of '48; and his schoolgirl daughter saved him from being arrested as a rebel. She was mentally and morally developed at thirteen; at sixteen, beautiful, animated, brought up in the full tide of Romanticism, endowed with an intense and dramatic temperament, she fell into the pit of a *mariage de convenance* with a certain Lamessine, a soulless Sicilian. Misery soon followed, but a misery partly alleviated by her successes in her adored Paris. She sought her own friends among philosophers and writers and wrote her first book to defend the cause of women against the sardonic attacks of Proudhon. This initiated her brilliant career, especially in the salon of Mme. d'Agoult (Daniel Stern), where the young writer became saturated with Hellenism and Republicanism, conceived an admiration for Lamartine and Littré, an enthusiasm for Garibaldi and the Italian cause. She was also attracted by the disciples of Fourier and the ideals of the St. Simonians.

In 1862, having separated from her husband, "Juliette Lambert" bought a villa at Golfe Juan and thereafter she often passed winters on the Riviera. In Paris, she started her small salon in the Rue de Rivoli and later the "grand salon" of the Maison Sallandrouze. The first was chiefly political from the beginning and included such men as the financier Edmond Adam and the anti-clerical Peyrat. There followed a curious repetition of the Deffand-Lespinasse incident. Juliette Lambert weaned away certain of Mme. d'Agoult's friends to her own salon and a breach was made between the two women. Lamessine died suddenly, and his widow married Adam in 1868; though he was much the

older, they had many common interests, especially their ardent Republicanism. Mme. Adam soon met and helped to form Gambetta in his rough early days. Her salon was carried to Golfe Juan in the winter, and there Mérimée was its chief distinguished figure. A stormy meeting and a subsequent intimacy with George Sand marks the years before 1870.

The war and the Commune were dramatic days, dramatically told. The Adams were in the thick of it, the Government of National Defence consisting largely of their personal friends. Madame Adam made a cheerful struggle during the siege, passing through the excitement of insurrections, when her husband was appointed prefect of police. Worn out by the strain of bombardment and good works, she finally fell ill and went south when peace was made.

After 1870 a change came in her nature and ideals. She distrusted the new Ministry and considered the peace a shameful one. The "iron of defeat and war had entered into her soul." She came to have less faith in the masses, more in the *élite*; she becomes a pronounced nationalist, a "revancharde," working for the upbuilding of France and revenge on Germany. For these purposes Gambetta was her main hope. Assuming the rôle of his Egeria, she reconstructed her salon, making it a lobby to the Chamber, and she took a deep interest in his journalistic and political enterprises. But there was a fundamental difference between her Toryism and his radicalism. The death of Edmond Adam did not lead, as many expected, to the marriage of his widow and Gambetta. Her hatred of Bismarck turned her from the French tribune, who in some ways sought to compromise with the enemy. Disillusioned with the Republic, Madame Adam now drifted towards a traditional and imaginative Catholicism. The "Païenne" of her early novel became a Christian, though she still took pleasure in the Hellenism of the Parnassian poets.

The chief interest of her later life has been the *Nouvelle Revue*, which she founded and edited from '79 to '99. She won the support of Flaubert, Littré, and especially Daudet, and among the younger contributors were such names as Bourget, Loti, and A. France. The journal was primarily for *les jeunes*, many of whom Madame Adam has introduced to their public. In politics, she stood fast against Bismarck, advocating national preparedness, "regionalism" (decentralization), and the Russian alliance. She distrusted England until 1914. Her final pre-war rôle was that of the "abbess of Gif," a lovely country house near Paris, whither she transferred her salon and kept up the tradition of French conversation. During the war, at the age of eighty, she crowned her many ardent activities by promoting the Croisade des Femmes Françaises and helping to make a home for the disabled. "Madame Intégrale," as she has been named, has always believed in the resurrection and glory of France, which is now visible to all.

The biography is well put together, partly from the personal knowledge of Miss Stephens, partly from the seven volumes of Madame Adam's "Souvenirs." From one source or the other we derive a succession of anecdotes, personalities, witty conversations, and a running commentary on the history of modern France—all most interesting. The only criticism on the work is that it contains a great deal of badly printed French. Let us hope that with growing knowledge of France this blemish on many English books will tend to disappear.

Museum Ideals

Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method. By Benjamin Ives Gilman. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3 net.

THE literature that concerns itself with the management and function of the museum might easily find space, with elbow room to spare, on a five-foot shelf—perhaps including even the numerous monographs and articles published in the periodicals on this subject. A volume, then, like this of Mr. Gilman's, comes as a monumental increase to this slender fabric, and would merit respectful attention on this score alone.

The work is in two main parts. Part one, in its essence, is a reaction from standards of criticism too often prevalent in academic circles as well as in those of the profession—a criticism and valuation of works of art either on primarily historical and technical grounds or from the point of view of the collector pure and simple. The author insists that a work of art, particularly of fine art, exists as an end in itself, to produce a definite emotional reaction in the beholder with no educational, as distinguished from cultural, ulterior motive. Culture is then perceived as the power to receive this emotional stimulus—a power developed by use and not by education. The Museum of Art as distinguished from a scientific institution should be dominantly cultural, and the educational function ought to be entirely secondary to the main purpose.

The fundamental weakness of this argument, while much of the superstructure is sound, lies in the fact that a hard-and-fast line cannot be drawn between the cultural and educational functions of a work of art as far as a true appreciation goes. It seems practically impossible to distinguish between the feeling with and the knowing about, in a complete rounded appreciation; the artist and his art are one in the result, and a failure to recognize any of the factors in the attainment seems on the face of it to negative a complete realization of the artist's purpose. While theoretically there may be an antagonism between the cultural and the educational points of view, as far as the museum goes there does not seem to be any vital reason why they cannot be given equal weight. The real danger to the cultural ideal lies not only in making a mere specimen out of a work of art, but also in failing to recognize in it a personal expression of the artist's own world, an index of his times presented in terms of beauty.

Part two is intended particularly for those interested in or connected with museum work. The chapters dealing with the museum building are a mine of valuable information for the architect. That on Glare in Museum Galleries is a particularly complete treatment of a very important problem as yet by no means satisfactorily solved. There is a crying need for rational museum planning, and Mr. Gilman's work offers an excellent basis for the development of a flexible type of design in accord with the peculiar requirements and functions of the museum, which vary, of course, with the particular institution.

In the last section are discussions of various details of management and policy, external and internal, from the museum docent to the question of admission fees, that are the result of years of experience. These are of great value to the professional worker, as is indeed the whole book, but the latter will not necessarily on that account prove dull reading to the interested laity.

Mr. Bennett Grasps

The Pretty Lady. By Arnold Bennett. New York: George H. Doran Company.

WE have learned to recognize Mr. Bennett in his three common manifestations, as reporter, harlequin, and ironist, and it would have been more comfortable for us if he had cared to be quietly one or the other in this book. But he is something else here, and we do not quite know what. The specifist and ironist of *Clayhanger* is present in this writer, but also a presence cold and irresponsible—or is it desperate? Perhaps it is that the older story-teller here takes a leaf from the book of his juniors, the Georges and the Cannans, and grasps at the straw crude sex as the one thing that can be laid hold of securely in these times. A strange thing for Arnold Bennett to mould and color his "Britling," his study of England at war, to the prolonged amour of a man about town and a woman of the "promenades"! Or is it a strange thing? Is it, as we have hinted, a Bennett seeking at least one solid foothold in a shaken world? What more reassuring than to do what so many people talk of doing—to cut away all the conventions and pretences and show us ourselves as we are—from one angle at least? Therefore let us accept the facts not with resignation, but with nonchalance. Here is our gentlemanly Briton, "G. J.," a man of breeding and of open mind: "He was nearing fifty years of age. He had casually known hundreds of courtesans in sundry capitals, a few of them very agreeable; also a number of women calling themselves, sometimes correctly, actresses, all of whom, for various reasons which need not be given, had proved very unsatisfactory. But he had never loved—unless, it might be, mildly, Concepcion, and Concepcion was now a war bride!" He wants to love, has had a glimpse, in Paris, of a face of faces; and presently meets it again in the professional promenade of a London music hall. Business has been bad in war-time Paris, and Christine is this night "professing in London for the first time in her life." "G. J." goes home with her, stays his hour, and departs after paying his fee. This is the beginning; he finds himself actually in love, sees Christine as delicious, virginal, and what-not: she returns his passion. We have been amply familiarized with the prostitute who is at heart virtuous and pure; recent fiction has been full of her. But we now perceive that, after all, it has dealt feebly and conventionally with her. According to the code, "G. J." would promptly salvage, for the time at least, his treasure, conceivably by marriage, but otherwise certainly by sequestration. Not so with this broad-minded one. Mr. Bennett hardly does him justice in saying that "the fact that the woman who attracted him was a courtesan did not disturb him in the least." Courtesan is too flattering a term for our Christine, during as well as before her *amour* with "G. J." With his knowledge and apparent complaisance, she continues her trade of promiscuous prostitution, nightly in her "promenade" offering herself for hire, but for those occasions when her beloved has spoken for her in advance. It does not occur to him to take her under his protection until she is turned out of doors by the closing of her professional "stand" and the verdict of her landlord. Then, to be sure, he sets her up in a flat in the traditional way, and it is understood that she shall be for him only; and thereafter, when he finds her offering herself to soldiers on the street (out of patriotism, as he rather dully fails to see!),

he casts her off promptly enough—being, in truth, pretty well tired of her by then.

Now what we feel and would respectfully submit about all this is not that it is immoral and shocking, but that it is filthy and untrue. It does not purge the soul or convince the mind; it merely raises the gorge. An English gentleman indifferent to the physical promiscuity of the woman he loves (however little one may ask of that word) is, we must think, a figment of Mr. Bennett's ingenious but insensitive and plebeian fancy. Certain elements of decency, at least, are not distinctively "Victorian." "G. J." is a dirty fellow. Therefore it is hard to attempt a serious estimate of him, as we are required to do, apart from this sexual episode. But let us turn our backs upon it and do our best to see what else there is in the book. There is a picture of one sector of war-time London, the West End microcosm of "G. J.'s" circle and acquaintance. "G. J." himself represents its manhood—there is no other male of any account in the story. He is the self-centred, agreeable man of the world, comfortably placed and complacently occupied with his affairs, of business and of society. A rather special if unspecified tie lies between him and the girl Concepcion. Her marriage to a nice fellow and a good soldier has perhaps loosened it a bit. Her special friend, Lady Queenie Paulle, is a recognizable type of the young aristocrat bred in the restless ante-bellum atmosphere of England. Her presence and activities in war time are disturbing and often spectacular. She is the butterfly and the ant at one and the same time: devoting herself to hard labor for England and flouting the probabilities and now and then the decencies in her hectic impulse towards "being herself" at all costs. On the whole, one has rather more belief in Lady Queenie as a lady than in "G. J." as a gentleman. He himself is gradually drawn into usefulness as an organizer and member of war committees. There is his public self, working for England and the future of civilization, there is his reasonable and decent self-companionship with Lady Queenie and Concepcion, and there is his lawless and "primitive" self dealing with Christine, the *fille de joie* (there is much insistence upon her superiority as an artist in love over the vulgar mechanics of the British trade). Lady Queenie and Concepcion both love him. Lady Queenie virtually destroys her life for love of him. In the end, with Christine conveniently shelved for her sins, Concepcion and he are in the way of mating. He philosophizes the whole situation after this fashion: "The supreme lesson of the war was the revelation of what human nature actually was. And the solace of the lesson, the hope for triumph, lay in the fact that human nature must be substantially the same throughout the world. If we were humanly imperfect, so at least was the enemy. Perhaps the frame of society was about to collapse. Perhaps Queenie, deliberately courting destruction, and being destroyed, was the symbol of society. What matter? Perhaps civilization, by its nobility and its elements of reason, and by the favor of destiny, would be tleman in such a world as the present, his leaving Concepcion was its symbol . . ." Humanly imperfect, certainly, is our "G. J.," but we may regret that Mr. Bennett found him, as embodying actual human nature, a figure of fine impulses and habitual squalor. There is something here very close to the animalism of the Dreisers. We are asked to accept, as a natural and normal thing for such a creature as a gentleman in such a world as the present, his leaving Concepcion in her tragic moment for the sheer body of Christine. He

does not mean to go, but readily finds excuses. "These apparently excellent arguments were specious and worthless," says his chronicler, with cool satisfaction. "He would, anyhow, have gone to Christine. The call was imperious in him, and took no heed of grief, nor propriety, nor the secret decencies of sympathy. The primitive man in him would have gone to Christine." Alas, we must believe that the primitive woman in Christine, her "insatiable temperament," of which one hears quite enough, has at least as much to do with our parting glimpse of her, soliciting on the street, as that mystical sense of her mission to "succour and assuage" with which her author's assiduity invests her.

Notes

IN the near future E. P. Dutton & Company will publish "Creative Impulse in Industry," by Helen Marot.

The following volumes are announced for July publication by George H. Doran Company: "The Hive," by Will Levington Comfort; "The British Campaign in France and Flanders," Volume 3, by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle; "From Bapaume to Paschendaele," by Philip Gibbs; "An Englishwoman's Home," by Mrs. A. Burnett Smith; "Ten Months in a German Raider," by Captain John Stanley Cameron; "Why Prohibition?" by Charles Stelzle; "High Altars," by John Oxenham; "Knit and Sew for Your Man," by Maud Churchill Nicoll; "Practical Flying," by a Flight Commander; "What Everyone Should Know About the War"; "On the Fringe of the Great Fight," by Colonel Nasmith; Admirals of the British Navy," by Francis Dodd.

THE Birmingham Oratory, the society which was founded by Newman and in which he spent his later years, has published a volume of letters, supplementary to those edited by Newman's sister-in-law, Miss Anne Mozley, entitled "Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, 1839-1845" (Longmans, Green; \$4 net). The dates will indicate pretty well the character of the letters. They were written in the years when Newman was passing through the ordeal of doubt and hesitation, ending in his conversion to the Roman Church. In general they may be said to show that the certainty of this conversion came earlier than might be supposed from the letters hitherto published, though the note of anxiety is by no means absent—witness the letter to Keble, of May 4, 1843, on the question of sincerity in times of hesitation. To those interested in the life of Newman, indeed to any who still regard the inner experiences of religion as vitally interesting, this volume may be recommended as an important contribution. All the letters are good and significant; perhaps the very best are those of Keble—particularly the beautiful epistles of September 4, 1843, January 22, 1844, and February 20, 1845. The editorial narrative is well and honestly written.

DOSTOIEVSKY'S inherent trait, lack of proportion and restraint, is less manifest in his shorter stories, which make up the contents of the two volumes, "The Eternal Husband and Other Stories" (Macmillan; \$1.50 net) and "The Gambler and Other Stories" (Macmillan; \$1.50 net). Limited by space (the six stories fill fewer pages than any one of his celebrated novels), the author was forced to concentrate the naturally centrifugal rays of his genius upon

one focus and in this way satisfy for once the academic requirement of "unity." Read the six stories one after another, and you get the illusion of having gone through one of Dostoevsky's bewildering novels, with its Byzantine mosaic of loosely connected persons, places, emotions, and events. For the single subjects treated in these short stories form in their ensemble the Dostoevsky-gamut of harmonies and dissonances, ranging from Christian pity and compassion to sadistic cruelty and perversion. Taken individually, the stories appear ordinary and lack the chaotic splendor of "Possessed," or the "Idiot," or the "Brothers Karamazov." In "Poor People" Dostoevsky made a felicitous beginning; the young writer was greeted by contemporary critics as a new Gogol destined to take the place of the author of "Dead Souls," who was then rapidly sinking into black madness, "tormented by God," to use a Dostoevsky phrase. The story rang the note of sympathy with the humble, a note present in all the subsequent productions of the writer. But already in the next story, "The Double," we hear a new note, that of love for the pathological, or rather for the psychopathic, for the twilight of the mind. With the notes of compassion and of self-sacrificing love in "The Eternal Husband" or in "The Gambler," there sound notes of demoniacal callousness and of calculated cruelty (with particular morbidity in "A Gentle Spirit" and in "The Landlady"). The baffling contradictoriness of Dostoevsky's personality, in his art as in his life, looms up in these stories with more sharpness than in his long novels, perhaps because here the outline is clearer, the colors are more distinct, the chaos is less complex.

ON reading the introduction to this new rendering of the best of Cervantes's short stories, "Rinconete and Cortadillo" (Boston: The Four Seas Company; \$1.50 net), translated by Mariano J. Lorente, the reader experiences the unpleasant feeling that he has been made the victim of a mystification. The writer, an alleged Spaniard, finding that, in addition to ignorance of the Spanish, none of Cervantes's English translators could write good English, states that he, a Castilian, will show how the thing should be done. Then with a very un-Castilian rudeness he proceeds in a manner offensively waggish and brutally truculent to abuse his predecessors in the field. If he is in fact a Spaniard, he possesses a raciness of invective most remarkable in a foreigner. He reveals a superficial, rather than a scholarly, acquaintance with Cervantine questions. A more critical scholar would not have been guilty of the statement that no American has ever translated a work by Cervantes, nor would he have espoused the very unsound theory of the dating of the "Don Quixote" and the "Rinconete" here expressed. The effect produced is that of a clever English dilettante perpetrating a joke at the expense of the bigwigs of scholarship. The translation itself is indeed better than any other English version of this story; but Rodríguez Marín's exhaustive studies have made the task easier than it was in the days of Norman McColl. The translator is a master of both literary and colloquial English. His festive style appears to better advantage as a vehicle for Cervantes's wit than when he uses it to clothe his own. The notes lean heavily on Rodríguez Marín. There is a preface by Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham. Mr. Lorente promises to translate also the remaining "Exemplary Novels." These will be very welcome.

WHEN Henry E. Legler died the world of libraries lost one of its ablest exponents and the reading public a staunch and inspiring friend. Not born to library work, so to speak, he yet took to it naturally in his mature years. Beginning life as a newspaper reporter, he was later called to the service of the Milwaukee School Board. When past forty he became secretary of the Wisconsin Free Library Commission and was its guiding head for some years. The chief functions of the Commission are to bring books within the reach of those who are not so fortunate as to have access to public libraries, and to give library instruction and training. Travelling libraries have for many years reached every corner of the State—a noble work, indeed. The idea was not Mr. Legler's, but its development to-day is due largely to his vision, tact, and tireless energy. Having in a large measure exhausted the possibilities of the travelling library, Mr. Legler was ready to pass on to a larger field. He was appointed librarian of the Chicago Public Library, then in an advanced stage of retrogression. This institution he vitalized and made a thing of power. It is doubtful if any librarian in the same space of time and with no greater resources ever accomplished more for a municipality. For Mr. Legler was more than a librarian—he was a man of quiet force and charm of manner, persistent, resourceful. He possessed much common-sense, Franklin-like wisdom, and ideas in abundance; furthermore he knew how to win and retain the affection and loyal coöperation of his associates. H. M. Legler has recently compiled and edited a slender volume of his father's addresses, "Library Ideals" (Chicago: Open Court; \$1.50). In the nature of memorial, these papers are well worth printing in book form, for they contain much of solid and inspirational value. Some of the subjects treated are: The Problem of the Cities, Certain Phases of Library Extension, and The World of Print and the World's Work. The style is easy and pleasing, although now and then one encounters a passage that is too eloquent.

A WORTHY number of the publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa is "Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858," by Marcus L. Hansen. The history of the fort has been skilfully used by the author as a centre around which to weave an interesting account of the discovery and occupation of the "upper country" by the white men. For many years Fort Snelling was our most northern and western post, and its influence extended over the area of many future States and held in check numerous Indian tribes. Established at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers in 1819, it was one of several posts planned to protect the boundaries of the United States from the undue influence of the Canadians. Until the War of 1812 our northern neighbors enjoyed the fruits of the fur trade in the region of the Great Lakes and of the upper Missouri River. Trade with the Indians has always carried with it political dependence. In order to change these conditions, a law was enacted in 1816 prohibiting aliens from carrying on trade with the natives within our borders, and at the same time it was determined to establish a series of forts along the northern boundary line to enforce the law. Fort Snelling was, however, the only one actually established, and so the burden of protecting a wider extent of territory was placed upon it than was expected. The first troops were led to the post by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Leavenworth, whose name is perpetuated in an establishment

marking a later stage of the American westward advance. The first commander was Colonel Josiah Snelling, who continued in this far northern post until 1827. The principal duty of the commanders was to maintain peace among the Indians and to establish the prestige of the United States, a duty that was satisfactorily performed. The fort was abandoned in 1858, but was used for training troops during the Civil War and again as an officers' training camp in 1917. The history of the fort is excellently done and may well be taken as a model for histories of similar western posts that have marked the march of the American frontier.

WE had hoped that "Over Periscope Pond" (Houghton Mifflin; \$1.50 net) would tell us some of the details of actual work in France done by the two Americans, Esther Sayles Root and Marjorie Crocker, who are its joint authors. They went over in the fall of 1916 to do relief work among the refugees in Paris, and their letters extend to January, 1918—two years of tremendous significance to any American, one would think, who had the fortune to be in Paris at the time. It was to be expected that in the case of two live young American girls some of this significance would be reflected. Their book is most disappointingly faithful to the publisher's description of "a joyous war book." It is very charming, very easy to read, very entertainingly full of the details of a trip to the front, of a holiday in Touraine, of moving into a new apartment, of the voyage over—in fact, of all the things that any one could write of with equal grace and ease were one on this side the Atlantic or on that. Of the real work that those two were doing, of the significance of that work as they interpreted it, of the daily sights and sounds that they must have experienced and that we on this side long to hear about, there is hardly a word.

DOWN with the Red! Long live the Blue! is the challenge of "The Blue Guides," a new series of English guidebooks to be issued with the avowed purpose of replacing the ubiquitous Baedeker of universal fame. The new series is to be brought out by "The Muirhead Guide-Books, Limited," a company owning the copyright of the well-known Murray's Handbooks and of Macmillan's Guidebooks, and therefore able to avail itself of valuable material in these old favorites. The new series, however, is to be newly written, to embody the latest results of research and the most recent experience. The English publishers are the Macmillan Company, while Hachette & Company, of Paris, are to bring out the French editions, to be known as "Les Guides Bleus." The editor, Mr. Findlay Muirhead, long on the English staff of Baedeker, promises that, while the best features of the older guidebooks are to be retained, certain interesting innovations are to be added. In "London and its Environs," the first volume of the series, for example, there are suggestions for "Literary Walks in London"; points of colonial interest are emphasized; and the importance of Esperanto is recognized by a special paragraph in that language. In the way of technical improvements the use of different colors to show the various tubes, buses, and trams may be noted, and the exceedingly sensible device of printing in large type passages to be read in badly lighted interiors. Special articles on "The History and Administration of London," by Mr. Charles Welch; on "British Art," by Mr. D. S. McColl; and on "London Architecture," by Professor W. R. Lethaby, discuss interesting features of the great city from its beginning up to 1918.

Art

The Art and History of Lithography

A LITTLE more than a hundred years ago Senefelder, by an odd chance, invented the art of lithography. The rest of his life was devoted to its development, so successfully that photo-lithography is the only new process that has since been added. He wrote the story in a book that should rank with the world's great autobiographies. Artists, finding in lithography the most autographic method of multiplying their drawings, have given in their prints a history as engrossing. To illustrate this history and to explain the art technically is the object of the exhibition, "Making of a Lithograph," opened in the New York Library in May and to remain open until October.

The technical explanation begins with the first case, in which a stone for printing is shown. There are also, on typewritten slips, three definitions of lithography. Two may be a help to the student, but not the third, from W. C. Browne's "Practical Text Book": "Lithography is the art of printing or drawing on stone and the process of reproducing such writings or drawings on paper or other materials." The contradiction is given in the same case by the two aluminium plates shown with the stone, one polished, one grained and prepared for the lithographer. Lithography is really the art of surface printing, and it is only because Solenhofen stone supplies such an excellent surface for the purpose that stone is most often used. The name even was an afterthought. For a time the art was known as polyautography. Browne's definition is still more practically contradicted in an adjoining case where, by the side of one of Joseph Pennell's War Work drawings, is the metal plate to which it has been transferred, followed by the print pulled from this plate, and then the two plates from which another proof of the same subject printed with a tint has been obtained. Here there is no question of stone at all. Examples of other processes are in the printed results: the pen-and-ink manner, as Senefelder called it, in a drawing by Menzel; a copy of a woodcut in one of Senefelder's own volumes; a print on a black ground, or in "la manière noire," from the finest of Charlet's many series; the use of the scraper in one of Fantin's Troyens subjects. Materials also are included—crayons, pencils, inks, though the all-important scraper is missing. In a drawing by Keller and in Toulouse-Lautrec's memorable poster for *L'Estante Originale*, the methods of preparing a stone and pulling a print are at least suggested.

The history begins with portraits of Senefelder and three editions of his book, 1818 the date of the German, 1819 of the French and English translations. His struggles and aims and ambitions, ever changing, may be followed in his design for calico printed in color, his lithographed piece of music, his diplomas and licenses, the copies of paintings and drawings begun during his lifetime by artists who, in Germany, first used lithography to reproduce the Masters. Huge portfolios of reproductions of the principal German collections were published in amazingly rapid succession, and some idea of their excellence and variety may be had in Strixner's print after a Michael Angelo pen drawing, Piloty's after a chiaroscuro engraving, above all Hanfstängl's after Rubens's portrait of his two sons, full of color and the feeling of paint. These few examples, characteristic of the

early days of the art in Germany, are immediately overshadowed by the great achievements of the French, for if lithography was invented in Germany, to France it owes its development as an art.

From about 1820 to about 1840 lithography was a complete chronicle of movements in French art, militarism in French legend, changes in French fashion, power in French caricature. It seems almost as if every artist who had something he wished to express for himself turned to lithography as a means of expressing it. The experiments of Gros, Guérin, Aubry-Lecomte show how promptly the art made its appeal, and they were quickly succeeded by Géricault, whose study of horses at a blacksmith's is typical if hardly sufficient to explain the distinction of his work in lithography; and Ingres, whose *Odalisque* is never absent from any historical collection though he was not encouraged by it to persevere in the art; and Delacroix, whose *Lion and Tiger* are so splendid in drawing and color that, placed with them, the feeble scene from his "Hamlet" dwindles into insignificance. Almost at once, too, began the countless publishers' enterprises, from Baron Taylor's vast volumes, the unfinished record of the architecture and beauty of France, to the cheap little "Albums" and "Collections Lithographiques" and the cheaper comic papers like *Caricature* and *Charivari*. The *Dieppe* and *Return to Port* are but two of many fine *Isabey*s, and *Isabey* is but one of many to whom the stone yielded the romance of land and sea for series of prints issued in the most inexpensive form. The *Vernets*, *Charlets*, *Lamis*, *Raffets* can do no more than recall the inexhaustible inspiration to the French artists of the Napoleonic legend, but among them is the little masterpiece in which the splendor and humor and tragedy of it culminated—*Raffet's* beautiful "Ils grognaient et le suivaient toujours." *Eugène Devéria*, in the portrait of Victor Hugo, represents barely himself, let alone the fine romantic fervor of "les jeunes" of 1830, whose organ was *L'Artiste*. Nor does the little group of *Monnier*, *Philipon*, *Traviés*, explain how it was that the caricaturists of their day made governments and uncrowned kings. More space is spared for *Daumier* and *Gavarni*, the two greatest of them all, but not for more than one or two of the greatest of their innumerable prints: *Daumier's* *Le Ventre Législatif*, so noble in design, so bitter in satire, *Gavarni's* sinister *Vireloque* and vivid portrait of *Edmond and Jules de Goncourt*. After these two came the decline, only a name here and there to lighten the commercial darkness—*Millet*, *Manet*, *Fantin*, tiding over the lean years until we reach the enthusiastic revival of the nineties when in *L'Estampe Originale* every artist in France was again trying his hand on stone or on transfer paper; a period that produced work varying from *Carrière's* mist-enveloped *Edmond de Goncourt* to *Besnard's* sombre and shadowy version of *Maeterlinck's* *Intruse*, from the delicate light little idyls of *Willette* to the dashing posters of *Chéret*, the brilliant color experiments of *Lunois*, *Toulouse-Lautrec*, *ibels*—a period gay and adventurous for lithography, stirring with life.

A rapid survey hurries one through the other countries. Lithography in Spain means *Goya* and the pageants of the bull-ring, hardly *Zuloaga*, to whom the lithographic crayon is not as yet as responsive as paint. Belgium brings one down to to-day and the impressive bridge, a first attempt of *Baertsoen* during his exile in London. In Holland *Veth's* precisely drawn portraits are in contrast to *Toorop's* pale mysticism and *Bauer's* mysterious vagueness. *Menzel*, the

towering figure in German lithography, is inadequately represented, but, to make up for it, a fair idea is to be had of modern German and Austrian lithographers, *Käthe Kollwitz*, *Greiner*, *Orlik*. From *Bonington*, *Prout*, *Harding*, the English section passes on to *Brangwyn*, *Shannon*, *Spencer-Pryse*, *Copley*, *Ethel Gabain*—one can scarcely do more than give a list of names. The first American lithographs include *Benjamin West's* experiments in *polyautography*, the first English name for lithography, though these belong rather to England, where they were published in a *polyautographic* album, and examples of *Otis*, *Browne*, *Newsam*, who were interesting simply as pioneers. *Cole*, *Thomas Moran*, *William M. Hunt*, *Winslow Homer*, *Alden Weir*, have little more interest save as links between the pioneers and the master, *Whistler*, one of the great lithographers not only of America, but of the world. The small collection of his work illustrates his use of wash, crayon, color—his beautiful, delicate use of color, so unlike the violent, strident chromo, once the fashion in the Salon. Had he been his own printer, had he escaped the restrictions imposed upon the artist by the professional printer of his day, the medium must have yielded him still greater variety. As it is, in all he did he was supreme. Here, too, is the good strong study of a woman made by *Sargent* when artists in England were hurriedly supplied with transfer paper and lithographic crayon that they might represent the country at the *Paris Centenary Exhibition* in 1895. And here is *Rheims Cathedral* by *Pennell*, supplementing his work in the cases. The technical ventures by *Arthur B. Davies*, the large *Boxers* by *Bellows*, and the *Lusitania* by *Sloan*, the portrait by *Steiner*, promise a wider interest in the art among American artists who, with rare exceptions, have hitherto been so foolish as to ignore it.

One criticism: there is no catalogue. Everywhere there are explanations and useful notes typewritten on slips of paper. Of these, with a little more trouble, a catalogue of an extremely interesting and, on the whole, well-arranged exhibition could have been compiled to rank as a record with the catalogues of the great French and English and *Grolier Club* shows. Critics and public would have found it far easier, too, to make a discriminating survey of the distinctive features of the exhibition.

N. N.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Bryher, W. Amy Lowell. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.

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NATURAL SCIENCE

Locy, W. A. The Main Currents of Zoölogy. Holt.

Taubenhaus, J. J. Diseases of Truck Crops and Their Control. Dutton. \$5 net.

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Summary of the News

PRESIDENT WILSON, in his speech at Mount Vernon on July 4, did not commit himself to detailed policies of any kind when he declared that the settlement of the war must be final, that there could be no compromise, and that no half-way decision would be tolerable. He summed up the ends for which the Allies are fighting as being: (1.) The destruction, or reduction to virtual impotence, of every arbitrary power anywhere that can disturb the peace of the world. (2.) The settlement of every question involved upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned. (3.) The consent of all nations to be governed by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern individual citizens of modern States. (4.) The establishment of an organization of peace, so that the combined power of free nations will make peace and justice more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion and of international readjustment. The President added that these could be stated in a single sentence: "What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

MILITARY operations during the week of July 2-8 have been marked by a series of heavy attacks by the Allies on both the Italian and the French fronts. In Italy the effort to throw the Austrians back and improve local conditions were entirely successful. On the Asiago Plateau the Italians re-took Col del Rosso and Monte di Valbella; and later, on the lower Piave, they gained ground that had been yielded to the invaders and completely expelled the Austrians from the western bank of the Piave, after five days of uninterrupted struggle. The operations carried on between the old and the new Piave resulted in the Austrians yielding most of the ground comprised between the two river beds.

ON the French front there has been incessant activity. American troops on July 1 captured the village of Vaux and the Bois de la Roche, gaining a mile and capturing 450 prisoners. On July 4 the Australians, aided by Americans, in a surprise attack, advanced one and a half miles on a four-mile front, capturing 1,500 prisoners and taking the village of Hamel with the trenches beyond, south of the Somme. The French, northwest of Soissons, pushed into the enemy's territory nearly half a mile, on a front of three miles, capturing 1,000 prisoners. In general, these operations are strengthening the front and weakening the enemy, for since June 9 the Allies, in these minor assaults, have taken 10,000 prisoners.

MORE than 1,000,000 Americans have been sent overseas, according to an announcement authorized by President Wilson. The total number of those returned and lost and of all casualties is now 8,165. The embarkations in the months from May, 1917, to and including June, 1918, were as follows: 1917—May, 1,718; June, 12,261; July, 12,988; August, 18,323; September, 32,523; October, 38,259; November, 23,016; December, 48,840. 1918—January, 46,776; February, 48,027; March, 83,811; April, 117,212; May, 244,345; June, 276,372. Ma-

rines, 14,644. Aggregating 1,019,115. Gen. Pershing on July 1 had 251,000 men engaged in fighting, a number which indicates the extent to which American aid was responsible for having eased the situation on the western front.

RUSSIAN news and the Russian situation grow increasingly complicated. In northern Russia a German-Finnish campaign in the Murmansk region has begun, threatening the Murman railway by an incursion from the Finnish border, while Finland is reported to be aligning itself with the Central Powers and to be extending its activities toward Kola harbor, built to give the Allies another entrance into Russia. According to latest reports, the population of the Murman coast has now joined the Entente. In the Ukraine a battle between Germano-Ukrainian White Guards and peasants is reported. In Moscow, Count von Mirbach, German Ambassador to Russia, was assassinated on July 6. As the representative of the German Government, Count von Mirbach had been insistent in demanding that the German army be allowed to assist the Bolsheviks in preventing the Czecho-Slovaks, deserters from the Austrian army, from proceeding through Siberia on their way to the western front. Premier Lenine has expressed the indignation of the Russian Government at the deed, which is by him considered a political manoeuvre to provoke trouble.

THE Czecho-Slovaks, who have organized against the Bolshevik Government in Siberia, are reported to have captured Vladivostok on June 30, after completely defeating the Bolsheviks west of Irkutsk and driving them out of the region east of Lake Baikal. The Czecho-Slovak complication may be far-reaching in its consequences, because these prisoners of war, technically subjects of the Austrian Empire, have been financed and equipped by the Entente Governments and were to be sent to France by way of Siberia and ocean transports. By forming a junction at Vladivostok with the Allied naval forces they have come into direct opposition to the *de facto* Government of the Soviets in Siberia, and are forming a nucleus for the various elements that have revolted against Bolshevik control. Those in favor of armed intervention in Siberia by the Entente Powers are basing their claim for immediate Allied action in Siberia on the success of the Czecho-Slovaks, with the aid of whom, it is claimed, a counter-revolutionary Government might easily be established. Leon Trotzky, Commissioner of War and Marine, has announced that the international situation is such that it requires a powerful army with obligatory service, and has therefore submitted a report advocating universal military service. He has also declared that the war against the Czecho-Slovaks is not civil war, since these forces are made up of prisoners of war.

SOUTH AFRICA is reported by Premier Botha, of the Union of South Africa, to be in a state of serious unrest, and strong police and military measures have been taken to control the situation. A movement to overthrow the Constitution by violent methods has been on foot, and revolutionary activities, following strikes in the Transvaal mines, are increasing. Little news has come from South Africa lately, although it has been several times reported that a movement to establish an independent republic in South Africa was gaining strength.

LIMITED home rule for India was recommended in a report to Parliament by Mr. Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary for India, and Baron Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor-General of India. The main recommendations of the report are: increase of responsibility to be conferred on provincial legislatures, which are to be composed of directly elected representatives; the establishment of a vice-regal legislature, to be composed of two chambers; the creation of an Indian privy council and a council of princes. The Indian Government has at the same time announced that the Indian army is to be greatly increased, and that commercial interests not directly essential to the prosecution of the war must be subordinated to the development of man-power.

THE Mansion House Anti-Conscription Conference in Dublin issued on July 3 the message sent to President Wilson through Ambassador Page in London, in which the sympathetic judgment of the United States is asked at a time when, it is alleged, Great Britain is threatening to crush the Irish people. Asserting that "while self-determination is refused, we are required by law to bleed 'to make the world safe for democracy' in every country except our own," the message declares that 10,000 Irishmen have died in the present war, and concludes with an appeal to the President to help in this struggle for liberty. Later reports from Dublin announce that the police are raiding homes in the Counties of Galway, Roscommon, and Kings, and seizing arms of every description.

EUGENE V. DEBS, four times Socialist candidate for the Presidency of the United States, was arrested in Cleveland on June 30 on a charge of sedition. The indictment, containing ten specifications under Section 3 of the Sedition bill, was the result of a speech delivered by Mr. Debs several weeks ago before the Ohio Socialist Convention at Canton, O., in which he is charged with having made various statements with intent to interfere with the successful prosecution of the war. Mr. Debs pleaded not guilty, and was released on a \$10,000 bond for trial on July 30.

THE taking over of the telegraph and telephone lines by the Government during the period of the war is still pending, owing to the failure of the Senate to pass the resolution authorizing such action. Although the House of Representatives had voted in favor of this resolution, the Senate, without acting on it, adopted a resolution to adjourn. By the refusal of the House to agree to this, Congress will continue in session until the Senate has acted.

MOHAMMED V, Sultan of Turkey, died on July 3. He had been ruler of Turkey since 1909, when he succeeded his brother, Abdul Hamid, after thirty-three years of imprisonment. Mohammed VI, son of the late Sultan Abdul Aziz, who was deposed in 1876, was proclaimed Sultan of Turkey on July 6.

THE deaths of Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, of South Carolina; of Lord Rhondda, Food Controller of Great Britain; and of John Purroy Mitchel, ex-Mayor of New York, and major in the Aviation Section of the United States army at the time of his death, were also recorded during the first week of July.

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BRITAIN AFTER THE PEACE: Revolution or Reconstruction

By BROUGHAM VILLIERS, Author of "The Socialistic Movement in England, etc." Ready August 1

It is here argued that the problem of reconstruction after the war is essentially a revolutionary one, in the sense that it implies the making of fundamental changes in a rapid manner instead of by the slower methods of reform and evolution. To attempt to show how this revolution may be carried out in a peaceful way, "in due form of law," avoiding violence, is the purpose of this work, which deals in a vigorous and independent way with the problems of demobilization, industrial control, taxation, agricultural reform and small holdings, the probable effects of the war in foreign countries, the foreign policy of the future and the reaction of European politics on British problems. The book sets forth no Utopian schemes, but is a sane effort at constructive imagination, and will be welcomed as an important contribution to the discussion of the Problems of the Peace.

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